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1914

ANATOLIAN STUDIES

PRESENTED TO

WILLIAM HEPBURN BUCKLER

35466

EDITED BY

W. M. CALDER AND JOSEF KEIL

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LIST OF THE COMMONER ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME

AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology.</i>
Ann. Ép.	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
Arch. Anz.	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger.</i>
Ath. Mitt.	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.</i>
BSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens.</i>
BM Cat.	<i>Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum.</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique.</i>
BGU	<i>Berliner Griechische Urkunden.</i>
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History.</i>
CB	<i>The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, by W. M. Ramsay.</i>
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, ed. Boeckh.</i>
CPh.	<i>Classical Philology.</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly.</i>
CR	<i>Classical Review.</i>
Eph. Epigr.	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica.</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.</i>
GDI	<i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialektinschriften, ed. Collitz, etc.</i>
GIBM	<i>Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae.</i>
IGR	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes, ed. Cagnat, etc.</i>
Jb. Arch. Inst.	<i>Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts.</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies.</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies.</i>
JThS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies.</i>
K.-P.	<i>J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, Bericht über eine (eine zweite, eine dritte) Reise in Lydien (Denkschr. der Wien. Akad., ph.-hist. Klasse LIII, LIV, LVII).</i>
LW	<i>Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage archéologique en Asie Mineure.</i>
MAMA	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua, Vols. I-VI.</i>
Μουσ. Συμπν.	<i>Μουσείον και βιβλιοθήκη της Ευαγγελικής Σχολής, 1875-1886.</i>
Mus. Belg.	<i>Musée Belge.</i>

Öst. Jahresh.	<i>Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes.</i>
OGI	<i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones</i> , ed. Dittenberger.
Philol.	<i>Philologus</i> .
PIR	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i> .
PTebt.	<i>Tebtunis Papyri</i> , ed. Grenfell, etc.
RE	Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, <i>Real-Encyclopädie</i> .
REG (also Rev. Ét. Gr.)	<i>Revue des Études grecques</i> .
Rev. Arch.	<i>Revue archéologique</i> .
Rev. Ét. Anc.	<i>Revue des Études anciennes</i> .
Rev. Épigr.	<i>Revue épigraphique</i> .
Rev. Phil.	<i>Revue de Philologie</i> .
Rh. Mus.	<i>Rheinisches Museum</i> .
Riv. Fil.	<i>Rivista di Filologia</i> .
Röm. Mitt.	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i> .
SCE	<i>The Swedish Cyprus Expedition</i> , by E. Gjerstad, etc.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , ed. Hondius.
SIG (also Sylloge)	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , ed. Dittenberger.
Sterrett, E. J. and W.E.	<i>Sterrett, Epigraphical Journey and Wolfe Expedition</i> .
Stud. E.R.P.	<i>Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Roman Provinces</i> , ed. Ramsay.
TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> .

See also pp. 129 and 157.

A LIST OF THE PUBLISHED WRITINGS OF
WILLIAM HEPBURN BUCKLER

compiled by GEORGINA BUCKLER

1890

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1894

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9, 1894.

1900

- Review of "Historical Introduction to the Private Law of Rome,"
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New York, January 25, 1900.
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1900. *The Nation*, July 6, 1900.

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xiv A LIST OF THE PUBLISHED WRITINGS OF

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1902

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1912

- "Greek Inscriptions from Sardes" (with D. M. Robinson), I. *AJA*, XVI, 1912, pp. 11-82.

1913

- "Monuments de Thyatire." *Rev. Phil.*, XXXVII, 1913, pp. 289-331, 2 plates.

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1914

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 "Greek Inscriptions from Sardes" (with D. M. Robinson), IV-V. *AJA*, XVIII, 1914, pp. 1-40 and pp. 321-362.
 "Some Lydian Propitiatory Inscriptions." *BSA*, XXI, 1914-1916, pp. 169-183.
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1917

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 Report to Col. E. M. House from London, November 2, 1917.
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1919

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1923

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 I. *JRS*, XIV, 1924, pp. 24-84, 18 plates.
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Mélanges Gustave Schlumberger, 1924, pp. 521-526, 1 plate.

1925

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1926

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1927

- "Asia Minor, 1924" (with W. M. Calder and C. W. M. Cox),
 IV. *JRS*, XVII, 1927, pp. 49-57, 2 plates.
 "An Epigraphic Contribution to Letters." *CR*, XLI, 1927, pp. 119-121.

1928

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1929

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 Notice of "Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne," by G. de Jerphanion, 1928. *JHS*, L, 1930, p. 345.

1931

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1932

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 "Edward Buckler (1610-1706), Poet and Preacher." *The Library*, XVII, 1936-1937, pp. 349-353.
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1939

- MONUMENTA ASIAE MINORIS ANTIQUA, VI: MONUMENTS AND DOCUMENTS FROM PHRYGIA AND CARIA (with W. M. Calder), pp. xx + 166, 73 plates. Manchester, 1939.

ANATOLIAN STUDIES

TWO ANATOLIAN NOTES

by J. G. C. ANDERSON

THE following notes may, I hope, have some interest for a scholar who, although he has distinguished himself above all by the fine skill and scholarship with which he has restored and expounded so many epigraphic documents, is also a historian, as every epigraphist must be.

I. Εὐξείνους διθάλαττος

Ancient Greek sailors called the Euxine a double sea. For them it was not one sea but two, a western and an eastern, divided by a line running from the south coast of the Crimean peninsula to Cape Karambis (*Kerembe Burun*) in Paphlagonia, one of the highest capes in the Black Sea, about half-way between the Pontic Heracleia and Sinope. Strabo mentions the fact several times and gives an explanation that leaves the reader puzzled: he did not really understand the ground on which the sailors' view was based. In the first passage he says: ἔστι δὲ διθάλαττος τρόπον τινὰ οὗτος (ὁ Εὐξείνους πόντος)· κατὰ μέσον γάρ πως ἄκραι δύο προπίπτουσιν, ἡ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ τῶν βορείων μερῶν, ἡ δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐναντία ταύτῃ, συνάγουσαι τὸν μεταξὺ πόρον καὶ ποιοῦσαι δύο πελάγη μεγάλα· τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀκρωτήριον καλεῖται Κριοῦ μέτωπον, τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας Κάραμβις, διέχοντα ἀλλήλων περὶ [δισ]χιλίουσ σταδίουσ καὶ πεντακοσίους;¹ and he goes on to speak of the size of the "western" and the "eastern" sea. Kriou-metopon is probably identical with Cape Aï-Todor (ἁγίου Θεοδώρου), the most easterly of the capes on the south coast of the Crimea.² His explanation, then, is that the northward projection of Karambis

¹ II, 5, 22. The other passages are VII, 4, 3; XI, 2, 14; XII, 3, 10.

² See Müller on Ptol., III, 6, 2.

and the southward projection of Krioumetopon—both projections are in fact inconsiderable—contract the sea in the centre into a “strait” and so make it διθάλαττος. The length of this strait he probably gave as 1500 stades,¹ which is near enough to the actual distance between the two capes, 140 nautical miles (161 English statute miles).

In his seventh book he adds that many sailors who had made the passage affirmed that they had seen both capes at the same time ; in other words, in mid-Euxine they could on a clear day descry the two promontories, distant 70 sea miles on either hand. A still more remarkable case of long-sightedness is mentioned in his sixth book,² where we have the story, already alluded to by Cicero and related by Varro,³ that during the first Punic war a sharp-sighted man from a look-out at Lilybaeum in Sicily could count the number of ships putting to sea from Carthage, at a distance of 1500 stadia (more correctly given by Pliny as 135 Roman miles). This is a fairy tale, but the other report appears to have been well founded. Enquiries made by Jaubert in the Crimea in 1819 convinced him that in clear weather it is possible from the middle of the Black Sea to see both coasts.⁴ That was, no doubt, what the Greek sailors meant : what they could see was not the actual capes but the mountains behind them.

It was not, however, the small contraction of the sea by the projecting promontories that made the sailors call it διθάλαττος. The true explanation is furnished by the description given in the Admiralty's *Black Sea Pilot* (sixth edition, 1908). “The observations of several navigators establish approximately a line of demarcation from Cape Aïa in the Crimea [the most westerly of the capes on its south coast] to Cape Kerempeh in Anatolia, thus dividing this sea into two parts, the western and the eastern. It is rare to pass this line without observing a change, and vessels that come up to it with a fair wind are often obliged suddenly to brace their yards sharp up” (p. 11). “The two promontories divide the Black Sea into two parts, the eastern and the western, which are very often distinct, by the different winds blowing at the same time in each.

¹ Müller, *loc. cit.* Pliny, *N.H.*, IV, 86, gives the distance as 170 Roman miles, which is nearly correct.

² VI, 2, 1.

³ Cic., *Acad.*, II, 81 ; Plin., *N.H.*, VII, 85.

⁴ *Voyage en Arménie et en Perse*, 1821, p. 400, note.

Cape Kerempeh is much dreaded by coasters from the severe tempests which often occur in its vicinity" (p. 310). And again, "Cape Kerempeh deserves the name of Spartivento (Separator of Winds), which has been given by the Italians to several capes in the Mediterranean; for a strife between the winds is often observed abreast of it" (p. 13). It is this fact that gave Karambis and Krioumetopon their importance as nautical points.

II. POMPEY'S TREATMENT OF PONTUS

Certain views expressed in recent English publications about Pompey's settlement of the country he wrested from Mithridates involve misconceptions which make it profitable to review the facts. These misconceptions concern the extent of the Pontic provincial area under his settlement and particularly his treatment of the inland portion of the Mithridatic kingdom. We read that "Bithynia was extended to the river Halys or, more probably, to the Iris," the latter limit being inferred from the fact that "the seaboard east of the Halys was shared between the Galatian Deiotarus and the city of Amisus, which presumably was included in the Roman province."¹ This statement is wide of the mark. The district indicated was only a fraction of the provincial area added by Pompey; Bithynia was at no time extended either to the Halys or to the Iris; the Iris was not the eastern limit of the territory of Amisus, which stretched some 60 miles to the east of it, if Strabo is right²; and Amisus was certainly included in the Roman province, for the names of proconsuls appear on its coins, one of them antedating the ratification of Pompey's settlement.³ Again, the suggestion has been made that Lesser Armenia—which (as is rightly argued) was bestowed on Deiotarus, not by Pompey, but by the Senate at some date subsequent to the ratification of his acts—was given by Pompey to Brogitarus, tetrarch of the Galatian Trocmi, whose territory adjoined Armenia Minor.⁴ But the boundary of eastern Galatia was something like 150 English miles distant from

¹ *CAH*, IX, p. 392, and map facing p. 396.

² XII, 3, 14. At a later date it did not extend so far, as Side-Polemonium belonged to the Polemonian kingdom: the river of Side is still called Puleman Su.

³ Babelon-Reinach, *Recueil*, I, p. 58.

⁴ *JRS*, XXVII (1937), pp. 12 ff., especially p. 15 f.

that of Armenia Minor, separated from it by a solid block of Pontic country, so that it is not the case (as the writer thinks) that the view that Armenia Minor was in some way connected with the new province of Pontus ¹ "seems to be ruled out by the fact that Galatian territory lay between it and the province."

The main authority for Pompey's arrangements is Strabo, XII, 3, 1, and other passages of the same chapter. His account suffers from one of his common faults, that of vagueness, a fault which is observable even when his knowledge was absolutely precise, as in the case of his native city Amasia. Particularly unfortunate is his ambiguous use of μέχρι, which (despite unguarded statements) does not uniformly mean either "up to (but not including)" or "up to (and including)." He uses the word sometimes exclusively, sometimes inclusively; and the precise meaning intended, though sometimes indicated by the context, is sometimes indeterminable with certainty, unless the fact in question happens to be mentioned by another author. Many examples might be quoted, but his ambiguous use of the word may be established without going beyond the passage just cited (XII, 3, 1), where in the second sentence μέχρι occurs twice, first in an exclusive and then in an inclusive sense, and in the next sentence it is used twice inclusively; the formula employed in the last case, μέχρι Κολχίδος καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας, recurs in § 13 of the same chapter, but there the preposition has an exclusive sense.

Such lack of precision makes it intelligible that there should have been differences of opinion about the treatment of the Mithridatic kingdom. Nevertheless a close study of Strabo's narrative as a whole, together with the other fragments of evidence available, allows of only one interpretation. The Pontic kingdom included (1) the whole seaboard from Heracleia Pontica to Colchis (both inclusive) with the range of mountains behind it, (2) Armenia Minor, (3) the whole region between it and the Halys watered by the Iris and its numerous tributaries (as well as by the upper Halys), and (4) on the west of the Halys the two northern valleys of Paphlagonia that run parallel to the coast-line and are drained by the rivers Amnias and Billaeus. Of this extensive territory Pompey handed over to native rulers two districts which Strabo loosely

¹ W. Fabricius, *Theophanes von Mytilene*, p. 209.

defines as "the parts towards Armenia and those about Colchis." About these there is no dispute. Colchis, as we learn from Appian,¹ was given to a certain Aristarchus, whose coins bear the legend Ἀριστάρχο(υ) τοῦ ἐπὶ Κολχίδο(ς).² "The parts towards Armenia," a phrase which by itself shows that no part of Armenia was included, were bestowed on the Galatian tetrarch Deiotarus, with the title of king. They are defined in a later passage (§ 13) as "the districts round Pharnacia and the region of Trapezûs" (Trebizond), and they therefore comprised the Black Sea coast from the eastern limit of the wide territory of Amisus, which included Sidene and so extended to the vicinity of Genetes promontory. The reason for assigning these parts to a client prince plainly was that they were not civilized enough to be incorporated in the new province. Deiotarus was entrusted with the task of controlling and civilizing the barbarous tribes that inhabited the coastal range, and the additional grant of the western half of Gadilonitis or Gazelonitis³—a district immediately east of the Halys, with the two anchorages of Naustathmos and Konopeion—was perhaps made to facilitate communication by sea with this isolated portion of his principality. What was done with Armenia Minor is not recorded.

The rest of Mithridates' realm (with the exception of the sanctuary of Comana, which received an extension of territory and remained a sacerdotal principality) Pompey divided into eleven urban districts (πολιτεῖαι), reorganizing or founding city-centres on the Greek model, and "added them to Bithynia, so that both together formed a single province." The new provincial area Strabo calls ἡ Ποντικὴ ἐπαρχία⁴ or more precisely ἡ Ποντικὴ ἐπαρχία ἡ συντεταγμένη τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ.⁵ The latter description corresponds to the Roman name *Bithynia et Pontus* or *Pontus et Bithynia*: the joint province was a single administrative unit, but it was nevertheless a dual province, each part maintaining its separate individuality. The list of the eleven cities can be reconstituted with approximate, though not complete, certainty: on the coast the three great cities of Amisus, Sinope, Amastris, and probably Heracleia, and in the interior Amasia (already fairly well Hellenized in the Mithridatic

¹ *Mithr.*, 114.

² Head, *H.N.*², p. 496.

³ § 13. These were no doubt alternative forms of the name representing a phonetic variation, like Nazianzos and Nadiandos, Zizimene and Dindymene.

⁴ XII, 3, 9, and 40.

⁵ *Ibid.*, § 6.

period) together with Pompey's new foundations Pompeiopolis, Neapolis, Magnopolis, Zela, Diospolis (Kabeira), and Megalopolis.

The province of Pontus as constituted by Pompey was thus immensely larger than it was in the Imperial period, and its boundaries remained as he arranged them for a quarter of a century—till the death of Deiotarus in 40 B.C. To the subsequent changes Strabo alludes in very general terms: "later the Roman *ἡγεμόνες* (*principes*) made various divisions from time to time, setting up kings and dynasts¹ and declaring some cities free, subjecting others to the dynasts, and leaving others subject to the Roman people."² Julius Caesar made some changes of *personnel* but none of principle. It was Antony who drastically reduced the size of the province, leaving to it only the seaboard west of the Halys, and handing over all the rest to kings and princes. Even Amisus was given over to kings and later it suffered under a tyrant named Straton.³ In 39 B.C. the Pontic kingdom of Deiotarus was bestowed on Darius, son of Pharnaces and grandson of Mithridates,⁴ who probably received also a large slice of inland Pontus: his kingdom is not likely to have been smaller than that of Polemon, who succeeded him not later than 36 B.C.⁵ and founded a dynasty that ruled (apparently with a period of intermission) till A.D. 64. Farther west, Amasia "was also given to kings,"⁶ and the two Paphlagonian valleys in which lay Neapolis and Pompeiopolis were added to the realm of Kastor, who ruled Galatia and inland Paphlagonia from 40 to 36 B.C., and was succeeded by his son Deiotarus Philadelphus.⁷ Thus Pompey's province was reduced to the strip of coast between Heracleia and the mouth of the Halys.

Wilful as Antony's policy in the East mostly was, his treatment of the inland part of the Pontic province was not without justification. Pompey's incorporation of it had been premature. His purpose was to force the political development of the country along lines calculated to promote the growth of civilization and to serve

¹ *Δυνάστης* was a technical term, which Strabo used in accordance with official usage in the Roman period, as may be seen from the Thracian inscription published in *BSA*, XII, 1905-6, p. 175 (*Eph. Epigr.*, IX, p. 696): *dynastes* is a lawful ruler recognized by Rome who does not bear the title of king.

² XII, 3, 1.

³ *Ibid.*, § 14.

⁴ Appian, *Bell. civ.*, V, 75.

⁵ Dio, XLIX, 25, 4.

⁶ Strabo, XII, 3, 39.

⁷ Dio, XLVIII, 33, 5; Strabo, *ibid.*, § 41.

Roman interests and administrative convenience. This object he sought to effect by the foundation of new cities, but the conditions were not ripe for a rapid development of city life and urban administration : the people had always been accustomed to be ruled, and they had had no apprenticeship of any kind in the art of self-government. The best evidence of the prematureness of Pompey's policy is the fact that after Actium Augustus left the Antonian system of vassal states intact, save for the restoration to the province of Amisus as a *civitas libera et foederata*. The Pontic provincial area now reached the limits that are familiar to us under the Empire. During the principate of Augustus the system of native principalities was only partially and slowly modified : the western part of the old province of Pompey was re-incorporated in the Empire in 6-5 and 3-2 B.C., but the eastern portion remained outside it until A.D. 64.



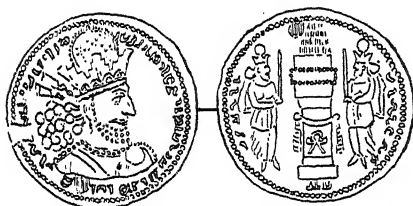
1. Formen der Kreuzschleife auf hethitischen Siegeln.
(Nach Bossert, Šantaš und Kupapa, 13 Abb. 6.)



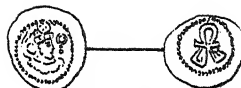
2. Siegel des A-ia-hu-i.



3. Münze Šapurs II.



4. Denar Šapurs II.



5. Münze Šapurs II.



6. Hethitisches Königssiegel, Labarna (?).

EIN HETHITISCHES SYMBOL

von KURT BITTEL

UNLÄNGST hat E. Forrer für ein auf hethitischen Siegeln häufiges Zeichen, das wir eingebürgertem Brauch entsprechend im Folgenden mit "Kreuzschleife" bezeichnen (Pl. I, 1), die Deutung "Siegel" angenommen und dann mit dem häufig vergesellschafteten "Dreieck" zusammen die Bedeutung "Siegelstein" erschlossen: "Daher ist $\text{𐎶} = \text{Siegel}$, $\Delta = \text{Stein}$."¹ Die gleiche Deutung hat übrigens schon lange Zeit vor ihm Sayce vorgeschlagen.² Was diese Lesung zunächst so bestechend erscheinen lässt, ist die Tatsache, dass dieses Zeichen nur auf Siegeln vorkommt und auf Steininschriften, die wir jetzt in so grosser Zahl kennen, fast völlig fehlt.³ Siegel, welche die Kreuzschleife ohne das beigegebene Dreieck führen⁴ vermögen die Deutung Forrers insofern nicht abzuschwächen, als man sich in einem solchen Falle eben nur mit der Bezeichnung "Siegel des . . ." begnügt hätte.

Forrers Deutung ist von Güterbock abgelehnt worden, der nachzuweisen versucht hat, dass Kreuzschleife und Dreieck irgend eine magische oder symbolische Bedeutung haben und dass die Schleife wahrscheinlich gleich dem ägyptischen 'nh-Zeichen, d.h. "Leben," zu verstehen sei.⁵ Denselben Weg hat schon vorher H. Th. Bossert eingeschlagen, der auf die Verwandtschaft der Kreuzschleife mit dem sogenannten kretischen "Kultknoten"

¹ E. O. Forrer, *Die hethitische Bilderschrift* (The Oriental Institute, Chicago, 1932, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, Nr. 3), p. 8.

² *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 35, 1913, p. 203.

³ Topada (*Archiv Orientalni* VII, 1935, p. 497) und Suvasa (*ebenda*, p. 521), aber beidemal querstehend; ob überhaupt dasselbe Zeichen? Ebenso auf Bleibrief 5, Zeile 27 der 3. Kolumne, aus Assur.

⁴ D. G. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals* (Oxford, 1920), p. 74, Fig. 77c; Taf. VI, 185 u.a.

⁵ *APAW*, 1935, Nr. 1, p. 75, Anm. 1 und 78 f. Das 'nh-Zeichen thinitischer Zeit, z. T. sogar noch das des Alten Reiches, kommt der Kreuzschleife fast gleich.

hingewiesen und dabei auch auf das Siegel des A-ia-hu-i¹ aufmerksam gemacht hat,² das wir hier seiner Wichtigkeit wegen erneut abbilden. (Pl. I, 2). Der Gottheit rechts nähern sich zwei menschliche Gestalten, offenbar Mann und Frau, von denen der Mann den rechten Arm im üblichen Adorationsgestus erhebt und in der gesenkten Linken ein 'nh-Zeichen hält, während die Frau, anscheinend mit beiden Händen, der Gottheit ein Zeichen zukehrt, das die Merkmale des Zeichens 'nh wie auch der Kreuzschleife kombiniert zeigt. Bossert hat gewiss völlig recht, wenn er sagt, dass der Kultknoten "offensichtlich aus festem Material bestanden" habe. Wir lernen aus der Darstellung des Siegels zweierlei: einmal, dass gleich dem 'nh auch das zweite Zeichen symbolische Bedeutung hat und als wirkliches Gerät gebräuchlich war, und zum andern, dass 'nh-Zeichen und Kreuzschleife sich ihrem Sinne nach berührten, wie das P. Ronzevalle unter Vorlage des gesamten syrischen Materials, wo die Wiedergabe des ägyptischen Zeichens für Leben beträchtlichen Abänderungen unterworfen war, bereits gezeigt hat.³ In derselben Arbeit hat Ronzevalle auch nachgewiesen, welch langes Nachleben dem 'nh-Zeichen auf Grabstelen Nordafrikas, sei es in verstandener oder unverstandener Bedeutung, beschieden war. Dasselbe lässt sich von der Kreuzschleife belegen.

Eine Münze der ostkilikischen Stadt Issos aus dem Anfang des 4. Jahrh. v. Chr., die sich im Museum zu Kopenhagen befindet,⁴ zeigt auf der Vorderseite einen Apollo, der sich von links her einem Lorbeerbaum nähert, die Beischrift fehlt; auf der Rückseite Herakles mit seinen bekannten Attributen und vor ihm die Kreuzschleife in typischer Form, im Felde Stier mit Beischrift. Etwa derselben Zeit gehört ein Stater des Britischen Museums aus Tarsus an, dessen Vorderseite einen weiblichen Kopf fast von vorn zeigt, während auf der Rückseite ein bärtiger Männerkopf mit attischem Helm (Ares?) nach rechts dargestellt ist, vor dem sich in freiem Felde die Kreuzschleife findet, zwar schon in etwas aufgelösterer, aber doch unverkennbarer Wiedergabe.⁵ Die Münze gehört in

¹ L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux et des Cachets Assyro-Babyloniens, Perses et Syro-Cappadociens de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1910), Taf. XXXIII, 496.

² H. Th. Bossert, "Šantaš und Kupapa" (*MAOG*, VI, Hft. 3), p. 12 f.

³ *Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph, Beyrouth* (Liban), XVI, 1932, Taf. V.

⁴ F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, p. 355.

⁵ *BM Cat. of the Greek Coins of Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia* (London, 1900), Taf. XXIX, 3.

die Zeit des Satrapen Pharnabazus, der von 379–374 v. Chr. die kilikische Satrapie verwaltete. Es ist nun bezeichnend, dass neben der eben genannten Kreuzschleife auch auf zahlreichen kilikischen Münzen das ägyptische 'nh-Zeichen vorkommt: Mallus, Statere der Zeit um 400;¹ Soli, Statere derselben Zeit² und schliesslich Tarsus, Statere der Zeit um 400,³ ebenso auf Münzen des Pharnabazus⁴ und des Mazaeus (361–333 v. Chr.).⁵ Auffallend ist, dass sowohl das 'nh-Zeichen (crux ansata) wie auch die Kreuzschleife auf kleinasiatischen Münzen der Achaemenidenzeit ausserhalb Kilikiens fast fehlen.⁶ Dagegen ist es nach den bei kilikischen Münzen gemachten Beobachtungen nicht verwunderlich, sowohl der Kreuzschleife als auch dem 'nh-Zeichen auf Münzen Kyperns zu begegnen. Kreuzschleife: König Euagoras II. von Salamis (Babelon, *a.a.O.*, 90, Nr. 613), der 351 v. Chr. seiner Herrschaft entsetzt, aber dann von den Persern als Satrap eingesetzt worden ist; König Demeonius von Kitium aus dem Jahre 388 v. Chr. (Babelon, *a.a.O.*, 100, Nr. 695 und 696). Crux ansata: Unbekannter König von Kitium um 500 v. Chr. (Babelon, 94, Nr. 641; 95, Nr. 644), Baalmelek I. von Kitium (Babelon, 95, Nr. 647 und 649), Melekiaton von Kitium (Babelon, 101, Nr. 699; 102, Nr. 706), Pumiaton von Kitium (Babelon, 102, Nr. 709), Aristochos (?) von Curium (Babelon, 107, Nr. 742), unbekannter König von Paphos (Babelon, 108, Nr. 743) und Stasandros von Paphos (Babelon, 109, Nr. 749 und 750). Wir finden also die Kreuzschleife bei persischen Satrapen Kilikiens und Kyperns, oder bei Königen dieser Insel,⁷ die den Persern sehr nahe standen; das Zeichen fehlt jedoch auf den Münzen der persischen Grosskönige selbst. Umso überraschender ist es daher, dass wir ihm viele Jahrhunderte später bei den Sasaniden wieder begegnen, also auf Münzen persischer Herrscher:—

¹ *BM Cat. of the Greek Coins of Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia*, 97, Nr. 12, 13.

² *Ibid.*, 145, Nr. 6, und 146, Nr. 11.

³ *Ibid.*, 162, Nr. 3; 163, Nr. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 164, Nr. 13; 165, Nr. 16, 18, 19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 169, Nr. 38, 39, 43; 170, Nr. 44, 47. Weitere Vorkommen auf Münzen aus Tarsus bei M. E. Babelon, *Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Les Perses Achéménides*, 17, Nr. 139, und Taf. III, 1.

⁶ Crux ansata etwas anderer Form auf Münze des Spithridates (Babelon, *a.a.O.*, 56) und auf einer in Pamphylien geschlagenen Münze eines unbekannten Satrapen aus der Zeit um 460 v. Chr. (Babelon, *a.a.O.*, 82).

⁷ Darüber hinaus zweimal auf einer Münze des Königs Ainel von Byblos um 333 v. Chr. (Babelon, *a.a.O.*, 195, Nr. 1362 u. 1363).

1. Šapur I. (241-272 n. Chr.). VS. Büste des Königs n. r. mit Krone; RS. Feueraltar, l. und r. Priester mit Schwert und Lanze, oben links und r. Symbole, davon l. die Kreuzschleife. D. J. Paruck, *Sasanian Coins* (Bombay, 1924), T. II, 12 und 13.

2. Bahram I. (273-276 n. Chr.). VS. wie oben; RS. wie oben, nur ein Symbol rechts, nämlich die Kreuzschleife. Paruck, *a.a.O.*, T. III, 2, 3, 5.

3. Bahram II. (276-293 n. Chr.). Die Kreuzschleife bei Paruck, *a.a.O.*, T. IV, 6, 7, 9, 11-17, als Symbol l. oben vom Feueraltar, bei T. IV, 4 dagegen auf dem Sockel des Feueraltars.

4. Narses (293-303 n. Chr.). Kreuzschleife stets l. oben vom Feueraltar auf der RS. Paruck, *a.a.O.*, T. V, 5-16.

5. Hormazd II. (303-310 n. Chr.). Kreuzschleife l. oben vom Feueraltar der RS. Paruck, *a.a.O.*, T. XXXII, 10.

6. Šapur II. (310-379 n. Chr.). R. oben vom Feueraltar der RS. Kreuzschleife. Paruck, *a.a.O.*, T. VI, 12 (Pl. I, 3). Kreuzschleife auf dem Sockel des Feueraltars (Pl. I, 4). Paruck, *a.a.O.*, T. VII, 1-5.

7. Šapur III. (383-387 n. Chr.). Kreuzschleife als einzige Darstellung auf der RS. in Perlkranz (Pl. I, 5). Paruck, *a.a.O.*, T. IX, 17.

Nach Šapur III. kommt dann die Kreuzschleife auf sasanidischen Münzen nicht mehr vor, es setzt alsbald auch eine starke Verwilderung des Münzbildes ein.

Ausser auf Münzen erscheint die Kreuzschleife bei den Sasaniden noch auf dem Kugelbausch der Tiara verschiedener Herrscher und als Brandzeichen königlicher Pferde auf Felsreliefs,¹ also stets im Zusammenhang mit dem Dynasten selbst oder doch auf ihm eigenem Besitz.

Das Zeichen hat eine Deutung erfahren, die allerdings eines vollgültigen Beweises entbehrt. Christensen erwähnt,² dass der Numismatiker L. Chr. Müller in der Kreuzschleife das Symbol der Göttlichkeit des Herrschers und in dem so oft damit vergesellschafteten Symbol, welches aus einer Art Halbmond über einer gestielten Scheibe besteht (Vgl. Pl. I, 3), das Zeichen der königlichen Herr-

¹ F. Sarre-E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Taf. 37.

² A. Christensen, *L'empire des Sassanides, le peuple, l'état, la cour* (Copenhagen, 1907), p. 90.

schaft sehe. Nützel sagt dagegen gelegentlich der Beschreibung der oben genannten Münze Šapurs III. : "Dieses Zeichen ist offenbar ein Attribut der Gottheit wie des Königs." ¹ Auf jeden Fall scheint soviel festzustehen, dass ein Symbol vorliegt, welches dem König, sei er weltlicher oder geistlicher Herrscher, eigen ist, und dieselbe Deutung wird auch für das Symbol auf den oben genannten achämenidischen Münzen zutreffen.

Ob eine direkte Beziehung zwischen dieser "persischen" Kreuzschleife, die wir vom Ende des 5. Jahrh. v. Chr. bis ins 4. Jahrh. n. Chr. verfolgen konnten, mit der hethitischen besteht, lässt sich nicht beweisen; die enge Übereinstimmung ihrer Gestalt, verbunden mit dem oft erstaunlich langen Fortleben orientalischer Symbole—man denke z. B. an den Doppeladler—lässt das als möglich, wenn nicht gar als sehr wahrscheinlich erscheinen. Auf jeden Fall möchte man eine gleiche Bedeutung dieses Symbols annehmen, das auch bei gewissen hethitischen Königssiegeln (Pl. I, 6) zur Titulatur des Königs gehört, in dem Sinne etwa wie das von Güterbock mit folgenden Worten ausgedrückt worden ist : ² Die Hieroglyphen "scheinen . . . von den Königen frei gewählte Wappen oder Embleme zu sein, ursprünglich wohl religiöser Natur. . . ." Auf Grund dieser Feststellungen scheint mir nunmehr, verbunden mit den von anderer Seite vorgebrachten Einwänden, die Deutung des Zeichens "Kreuzschleife" als "Siegel" nicht ohne weiteres und ausschliesslich haltbar zu sein. Wie offenbar eine Reihe der hethitischen Bilderschriftzeichen, so hatte auch die "Kreuzschleife" ursprünglich symbolische Bedeutung, was freilich nicht ausschliesst, dass sie daneben auch als Sinnzeichen Lautwert gehabt haben kann. Diese Möglichkeit erschwert aber ihre Deutung und ihr Verständnis in jedem einzelnen Falle, ³ zum mindesten so lange noch über der hethitischen Bilderschrift im ganzen gesehen so tiefes Dunkel liegt. ⁴

¹ "Sasanidische Goldmünzen," in *Amil. Berichte aus den Kgl. Kunstsammlungen*, XXXIV, 1912/13, Sp. 46.

² *APAW*, 1935, Nr. 1, p. 81.

³ Meriggi gibt in seiner Zeichenliste unter Nr. 62 die Kreuzschleife (*Revue Hittite et Asiatique* IV, 1937, p. 79; vgl. auch p. 109). Seine Erklärung: "il s'agirait d'une main (ou plutôt d'un avant-bras) qui tient la table à sceller (ou bien le sceau pour la sceller)," ist wenig überzeugend.

⁴ [Korr.-Zusatz.] Soeben hat H. Th. Bossert das lange Nachleben eines anderen Hieroglyphenzeichens nachgewiesen: *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 14, 1938, 338 ff.

THE EUMENEIAN FORMULA

by W. M. CALDER

AN epigraphical party travelling in central or eastern Phrygia, and especially in the upper Maeander valley and its neighbourhood, may at any moment light on a third-century epitaph ending with the formula *ἔσται αὐτῷ* (i.e. the violator of the grave) *πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα θεόν* (sometimes *ζῶντα* is omitted). Mr. Buckler well knows the stir caused by the discovery of such monuments, the pains taken to clear them, front, back, and sides, of obstructions, the care with which their whole surface and their text are scanned for any symbol or any expression which would mark them as Christian or as pagan. For the claim made half a century ago, that such monuments are to be accepted at sight as Christian, is still disputed.

I have not enquired who first suggested that the "Eumeneian formula" is Christian; the state of opinion just before the eighties of last century stands crystallized in Kaibel's comment on an epitaph from Eumeneia containing the words *ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα θεὸν καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῇ κρίσει ἡμέρα*: "vetat Franz ne quis christianum putet; ego in vetitum nisus sum."¹ The problem was posed afresh by the discovery in the eighties—mainly by Ramsay—of a large number of new examples, and Ramsay and Duchesne arrived independently at the conclusion that while the formula was in origin pagan and might in isolated cases mark a pagan or even a Jewish epitaph, the great majority of gravestones bearing the formula were Christian, and could be freely used as evidence for the expansion of the Church in the later third century.² Cumont³ went further, and claimed that the formula was "particulière aux chrétiens," and several editors, including Mr. Buckler

¹ *Ep. gr.* (1878), No. 426 = *CIG*, 3902f.

² See Ramsay, *C.B.*, pp. 484 ff.

³ *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.*, XV, 1895, pp. 245 ff.

and the writer, have followed him. But Cumont's claim has continued to call forth dissent or doubt, not only from scholars—of whom Schepelern may be taken as typical—unconscious of the limitations imposed on an epigraphical argument by the distribution of monuments in space and time,¹ but also from epigraphical experts of the calibre of Jerphanion² and Keil.³ I should like to submit to my friend a summary account of the conclusions which seem to me to follow from the evidence known to Duchesne, Ramsay and Cumont, supplemented by new evidence, much of which Christian Epigraphy owes to his own initiative in promoting exploration, his personal labours, and his uncanny powers of decipherment.⁴

The Phrygians used two types of formulae for the protection of their graves, the threat of a civil action with specification of the fine to be imposed—occasionally reinforced by a further threat of criminal proceedings—and an appeal to the gods to punish the violator. The two earliest Christian epitaphs of Phrygia,⁵ those of Avircius Marcellus and Alexander of Hieropolis, use the fine-formula. This detail supplied Harnack with one of his arguments for refusing to recognize the epitaph of Avircius as Christian, but Phrygian Christians did in fact continue to prescribe fines for violation of their graves throughout the third century. On the other hand it is obvious that they were precluded from using the various formulae by which their non-Christian neighbours appealed to the guardianship of the gods of paganism. It is admitted that at Eumeneia and Apameia the Christians began about the middle of the third century to use a formula (whether borrowed as it stood from the pagans or modified from a formula in pagan use) by which they placed their graves under the protection of their own God. In order to settle the question whether this formula was in fact exclusively Christian, it is necessary as a first step to enquire into

¹ *Der Montanismus und die phrygischen Kulte*, pp. 86 ff. Dr. Schepelern has just been arguing on p. 80 that the open use of *Χριστιανός* on late fourth- or fifth-century tombstones at Mylasa, Anzoulada, etc., proves that *Χριστιανός* was carved on their tombstones by orthodox Christians in the Tembris valley under Decius or Diocletian.

² *Bulletin d'Arch. chrét.*, XXXIV, 1934, p. 199.

³ *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien*, etc., No. 54.

⁴ In what follows references are added only in a few cases. The Eumeneian, Apameian, and central-Phrygian monuments referred to will be found in Ramsay, *CB*, Part II; Cumont as quoted above; *JRS*, XVI, 1926, pp. 53 ff.; *MAMA*, IV, and VI (at the time of writing in proof).

⁵ Ramsay, *C.B.*, Nos. 656, 657.

the pagan sepulchral custom, so far as we know it, of Eumeneia and of Apameia respectively during the second and third centuries.

The typical and almost universal form of tombstone at Eumeneia was the *bomos* or altar, on which the inscription was engraved. A few epitaphs have been copied on *stelai* or stones of nondescript character; no "doorstones" have appeared in the neighbourhood of the city. I have collected 92 pagan epitaphs from Eumeneia; the list is not complete, but it probably omits nothing of importance, and the conclusions we draw from it will be substantially correct. All the epitaphs, without exception, are in one form—so-and-so prepared a grave for so-and-so, almost always for members of his family. Many of the epitaphs are damaged, and the following statistics are in some cases based on probable supplements: but these do not affect the conclusion. Of these epitaphs 4 bear dates, ranging from A.D. 164 to 229, and the group as a whole belongs to the second and third centuries. My impression is that the majority belong to the period A.D. 150–250, and that pagan epitaphs grew scarce in Eumeneia in the later half of the third century. I find that among these 92 pagan epitaphs of Eumeneia 37 certainly or probably contain the fine-formula. The fines range from 100 to 8000 denaria, and are normally made payable to the *fiscus* or to the city council; in a few cases they are to be divided between the two bodies. In one case no amount is specified and the fine is defined as "the prescribed penalty"; no doubt a visitor to the record office could have ascertained the amount. In a small number of cases—I have noted only three, but many of the altars are damaged at the base—it is stated that a copy of the epitaph has been deposited in the record office.

In the same group of 92 pagan epitaphs I find only two in which the appeal to the gods is used, and both are noteworthy. The first ¹ begins as follows (in prose):

"Hermes, a citizen of Akmonia and of Eumeneia to my son Eukarpos and to myself and to my wife Aphrodisia."

(Then in verse):

"When I and wife and sons are dead,
Whoever opens my tomb or damages my grave,
May he fall victim to an untimely lot."

¹ Ramsay, C.B., No. 238 = *CIG*, 3893.

(Then in prose) :

"The intruder shall pay to the fiscus 2500 denaria."

Now this exception to the rule that the pagans of Eumeneia did not use the curse-formula carries its explanation on its face. At and near Akmonia the formula of which these imprecatory verses are a variety occurs in many epitaphs ; and this man was a citizen of Akmonia who had settled in Eumeneia, and acquired citizenship there too. On his gravestone he combines the Akmonian curse-formula with the Eumeneian fine-formula.

The second inscription ¹ runs as follows :

"Aurelios Gaios son of Apellas made the monument for himself and his wife and his mother and his honest friend Onesimos and his wife. And if anyone shall essay to disturb the plot let him and the man who counselled him thereto be accursed, unto his children's children. Such is life."

The admission of strangers to a family grave is unusual on pagan tombstones, and might provisionally raise a suspicion that this epitaph is Jewish or Christian. But it is better to treat it (with Ramsay) as pagan, when it stands as our one exception to the rule that Eumeneian pagans did not appeal to the gods to protect their graves.

It will be instructive to check these results by a comparison with the corresponding pagan epitaphs of the neighbouring city of Apameia. Apameia is first mentioned, along with Eumeneia, as the site of a Christian church in a document of A.D. 192 ; ² and the position of these two cities, near each other on the upper Maeander, points to both having derived their Christianity at the same early period from St. Paul's churches on the Lycus. In fact we shall find that the formulation of the early Christian epitaphs of these two cities is exactly alike. A comparison of the pagan epitaphs of the two cities, each with each and each with the contemporary Christian epitaphs, is therefore strictly relevant.

Here again the usual type of tombstone is the altar, but here we find a somewhat larger proportion than at Eumeneia of Greek stelai and blocks from the walls of *heroa*. Here, as at Eumeneia, the doorstone never appears.

From Apameia—again my list is representative rather than

¹ Ramsay, C.B., No. 231.

² Eusebius, E.H., V, 16, 22.

complete—I have collected 60 pagan epitaphs, several of them unpublished, 9 of them bearing dates ranging from A.D. 193 to 256, and the whole group roughly contemporary with the pagan epitaphs of Eumeneia. Of these 60, 35 contain the fine-formula, preserved or damaged; 2 add that the epitaph has been registered in the city record office. The fine varies from 500 (the usual figure) to 2500 denaria; in one case it is 500 Attic drachmae. It is made payable in every case to the fiscus or *ταμείον*.

At Eumeneia we found 2 pagan epitaphs among 92—one being that of a stranger and the other under suspicion of being Jewish or Christian—which included the curse-formula. At Apameia, among 60, I have found one.¹ It is dated A.D. 247 and is engraved over the grave of Auxanon also called Helladios, agent of Ailios Tryphon who had been thrice Asiarch. It was prepared by Auxanon for himself and his wife and his mother-in-law: "and if anyone else shall essay to bury a corpse here, he shall pay to the fiscus 1000 denaria and in addition he shall incur the wrath of [. . .]." Ramsay added to his note on this epitaph: "Perhaps Christian." Our inspection of the stone in 1934 led us to share this suspicion. In the first place we noted, under the inscription, a faintly incised wreath, of a type we had observed on other epitaphs of Apameia which are indubitably Christian. In the second place we observed that the missing word in the curse-formula consisted of only two letters: it can therefore hardly be other than ΘΝ, and this abbreviation of the name of the Deity was used in Phrygian epigraphy only by Christians. The case for claiming this epitaph for the Christian *Corpus* is strong; but let it remain pagan, and provide us with our solitary example of the use of the curse-formula by an Apameian pagan.

To sum up, we have found that at Apameia and Eumeneia taken together among 151 pagan epitaphs dedicated by natives of these cities 2 contain a curse-formula, and that there is cause to suspect the paganism of both.

In denying that second- and third-century pagans in Eumeneia and Apameia used a curse-formula to protect their graves I am, of course, begging a question. There is in fact a curse-formula which occurs over and over again, with minor variations, in third-century

¹ Ramsay, C.B., No. 312 = MAMA, VI, No. 222.

tombstones of both Eumeneia and Apameia, which spread from these cities to the neighbouring regions in the north and east, and which is found sporadically further afield in various parts of Asia Minor. That it originated in Eumeneia and Apameia no epigraphist who studies the chronology of the monuments containing it and the relative density of their distribution, will doubt; and Ramsay's description of it as the "Eumeneian formula" has been generally accepted. I have quoted part of it in my opening sentence: it runs "if anyone else shall essay to lay a corpse herein he shall have to reckon with (the Living) God." Or (as we must still at this point in our argument spell it) "with the (living) god."

Over Asia Minor as a whole the sepulchral curse-formula used by pagans appears in a variety of forms. A common variety of the formula calls down on the violator of a grave the wrath of the gods in general or of a specified god or gods. In the vast majority of examples the verb invoking the curse is in the optative or the imperative—"may he incur" or "let him incur" the wrath of so-and-so. The construction *ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς . . .* "he shall have to reckon with" so-and-so is, apart from the formula we are considering, extremely rare: I have never heard of any accession to the list of *two* known up to 1896. They are "he shall have to reckon with Helios and Selene" (Lycia), and "he shall have to reckon with the spirits of the dead" (Termessos in Pisidia).

These two inscriptions, which prove the construction *ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς . . .* in indubitably pagan use at two points far from the Maeander valley, and in the case of Termessos at least at a much earlier period than that at which the Eumeneian formula appears, are regularly quoted as evidence that the full formula *ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν* which began to be used in the upper Maeander valley about A.D. 250 was in fact in pagan use. This argument contains a fallacy obvious to those who have studied the monuments of Asia Minor district by district and are familiar with the strong individuality of the form, style, and decoration of the monuments of each small district, and the distinctive traits of their epigraphical formulation. Much progress has been made with the classification of the pre-Nicene tombstones of Asia Minor into pagan and Christian; but always on condition that the monuments of each self-contained area were treated as an interrelated group, whose

members reflected, inside the limits of local and often of parochial fashion, the opposing religious influences operating from decade to decade. Analogies from outside are useful if adduced with full appreciation of their own local context; otherwise they darken counsel. The question whether or not the Eumeneian formula was a pagan fashion copied by the Christians is best studied not in the indices of epigraphical collections, but in the upper Maeander valley.

Let us begin here again with a statistical analysis of the epitaphs which contain the Eumeneian formula at Eumeneia and at Apameia respectively. Ramsay's collection in *Cities and Bishoprics* has now been augmented by a number of examples, published and unpublished, from both cities.

The stones on which the formula occurs, both at Eumeneia and at Apameia, do not differ in any respect from the contemporary pagan tombstones. In general both the Christian and the pagan monuments of this area are devoid of symbolism of any sort. There is, however, more evidence of Christian symbolism than Ramsay allowed for when he wrote his well-known chapter on Eumeneian Christianity in *Cities and Bishoprics*. His frank confession, "I am prepared to learn that later travellers discover Christian symbols accompanying several of the inscriptions published in this chapter,"¹ was prophetic, as we shall see.

On the territory of Eumeneia (in which I include the upland plain to the west of the city in which Ramsay placed Pepouza) I find 28 examples of the Eumeneian formula. Of these 8 are dated in various years from A.D. 249 to 273. The simplest form of the formula, *ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν*, appears in 15 examples. Of these 3 are guaranteed as Christian by the use of *κοιμητήριον*, practically confined to Christian use, for the grave, and one of the 3 is guaranteed twice over by the symbol of the Fish carved on the altar. In 11 instances the violator has his reckoning *πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα θεόν*; of these 11, 4 are guaranteed as Christian, one by the addition "both now and in the Day of Judgment"; one by the statement that the occupant of the grave is a bishop; 2 by the use of the term *κοιμητήριον*. In the 2 remaining instances of the formula the

¹ C.B., p. 490.

reckoning is "with Jesus Christ" (written *) and "with the great name of God."

From my list of 28, in which the strict form of the Eumeneian formula is used, I have separated off 6 third-century Christian inscriptions of Eumeneia which contain formulae such as "he shall be accursed in the sight of God to all eternity" or because they are mutilated.

In two cases mention is made of the registration of the grave in the record office. And in 5 cases fines are prescribed, payable to *fiscus*, treasury, or council. One of these fines, a fine of 500 denaria to the treasury, is prescribed on the gravestone of Bishop Metrodorus.

Let us now turn to Apameia. Here I know 19 examples of the Eumeneian formula, 8 of which will appear for the first time in *MAMA*, VI. Three of the Apameian examples are dated, in A.D. 250, 253, 259. Here the form "living God" does not appear, and there are only 4 variations on the simple *θεόν*, namely "Immortal God," "God the Judge," "the hand of God," and "Him that hath power over every soul," all of which may confidently be treated as Christian. Here the simple form *πρὸς τὸν θεόν* is guaranteed as Christian in 4 cases. On one the monogram * appears at the top of the stone. In a second the letters *ΙΧΘΥΣ* are carved below the formula. The remaining 2 were found in situ in a *heroon* in the hills behind Apameia, and one of them has the word *Χριστιανοί* carved over it. In 5 cases the fine-formula is added to the imprecation, and in each case the fine is made payable to the treasury. There is no mention of registration.

Some of the more striking evidence I have included in these statistics is new—in particular the symbol of the Fish at Eumeneia and the addition of the mystic letters *ΙΧΘΥΣ* to an epitaph of Apameia; this last is the epitaph of a stranger from Antioch on the Maeander, and may have represented an imported feature. The new evidence confirms the truth which had already dawned on Kaibel, that the Eumeneian formula of reckoning was a Christian formula. But the question remains, was it also used by the Eumeneian and Apameian pagans? Can all the 47 epitaphs I have adduced be claimed outright as Christian?

Of the 47, we have claimed 17 as Christian beyond cavil (apart

from such cavil as may still be expected from the type of critic who refers you for *κοιμητήριον* to Athenaeus). Let us assume that the remaining 30 are a mixed group, including both pagan and Christian epitaphs, and see whither the assumption leads us.

In the first place, as Ramsay claimed, we should expect to be able to identify the pagan members of the group by traces, however slight, of pagan religious feeling or practice. Among 30 epitaphs, including the epitaphs of men who were members of the *βουλή* or *γερονσία* of one or other of two great cities it surprises us to find not a single mention of the priesthood of a pagan god or of any trace of pagan feeling. Above all it surprises us that the simple formula *ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν* should be varied at Eumeneia and Apameia only in one direction, in the direction of a more definite expression of Christian sentiment. Alongside of it we find "he shall have to reckon with Jesus Christ," or "with Him that hath power over every soul"—why do we not find a corresponding tendency on the part of the pagan users of the formula at Eumeneia to substitute the name of Apollo or Mên for "the god"? Pagans in Lycia and Pisidia, as we are reminded by Dr. Schepelern, appealed to their gods by name to protect their graves.

Secondly, those who insist on regarding the Eumeneian formula as common to pagans and Christians have something even more mysterious to account for. We have seen that in the second-century epitaphs of Eumeneia and Apameia which, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, we have been content to class as pagan (and the great majority of them *are* pagan), there is scarcely a trace of any use of the formulae of imprecation common in the northern and eastern parts of Phrygia, as well as in Lycia and Pisidia. Suddenly a new formula, based on a grammatical construction which is very rare in pagan use anywhere, and entirely unknown in earlier pagan use in Phrygia, makes its appearance in two neighbouring cities, known to contain Christian churches, about the middle of the third century. Among the 9 earliest dated examples, between A.D. 249 and 260, 6 are indubitably Christian. What is the likelihood that the remaining 3 are pagan? We have found no trace of the use of this particular formula by pagans either at Eumeneia or at Apameia before it suddenly appears on Christian tombstones; the two single instances of imprecation which (with some hesitation)

we have identified as pagan in the upper Maeander valley belong to a totally different category, and are both in common use by pagans elsewhere. By what process then did the formula of reckoning find its way simultaneously into Christian and pagan use in the upper Maeander valley? Was it agreed on at a conference between the Bishop of Eumeneia and the Priest of Apollo-before-the-Gate?

I submit that there is neither evidence nor likelihood that our formula was used by pagans either at Eumeneia or at Apameia. Was it, as some scholars hold, shared by the Jews and the Christians? We shall be in a better position to consider this question after we have glanced at the evidence for its employment in other parts of Asia Minor.

To the west of Eumeneia and Apameia, to western Phrygia, the Eumeneian formula did not penetrate; movement in epigraphical fashion, where it took place in Asia Minor, was regularly from west to east. From the upper Maeander our formula spread eastwards and north-eastwards. From Eumeneia it spread along the road to Sebaste and Akmonia; from Eumeneia or Apameia it found its way into the Pentapolis. We next—here I add unpublished evidence to that familiar to epigraphists—we next find it in Synnada, Prymnessos, Dokimion, and Philomelion along the line of the central trade-route, and at Tymandos and Antioch along the route from Apameia to Lycaonia. Thence it spreads into every part of eastern (Galatic) Phrygia, from south-east of Amorion to Vetissos and to Laodiceia Combusta, covering all the territory which is marked as Phrygian by the distribution of the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions. Beyond Phrygia it hardly occurs; there are stray examples at Vasada, Caesareia in Cappadocia, Sardis and Cyzicus; even in Thrace and Rome. The text from Caesareia is a telling illustration of the circumstances under which this formula moved beyond the borders of Phrygia. There, in the third century, a certain Papylos died after having carved on his tombstone "and if anyone wrongs my grave, he shall have to reckon with God." Above the inscription he carved a wagon with its driver, and he informs us in the text that he was a Phrygian master-waggoner who died in Cappadocia. No clearer proof could be desired that our formula originated in and was characteristic of Phrygia. Doubtless the Sardian and Cyzicene examples were carved by strangers

from Phrygia ; on one of the latter the dead man is described as πιστός—"a Christian."

If we examine these epitaphs in detail we find that, except in one solitary instance, they tell the same tale as those of Eumeneia and Apameia. Here again a minority are definitely marked as Christian by internal evidence ; that at Dokimion is dedicated by a presbyteros ; one of those in the Pentapolis includes the Christian term κοιμητήριον ; the Tymandos stone has the corresponding verb κοιμήσαι ; a stone at Killic adds to the formula "and may heaven not receive his soul." Here again the great majority of the epitaphs use the formula in its simplest form : and here again all are devoid of any trace of pagan feeling and unaccompanied by any pagan symbol. In only one case do I find our formula used with a variation which can hardly be Christian.

In this case ¹ the reckoning is with "the Most High God," to which is added : "and may the sickle of the curse enter his house and leave no one therein." This Akmonian formula belongs to a series which, as will be shown in *MAMA*, VI, were used by the Jews of Akmonia ; and the use by a Jew of the Eumeneian ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν . . . θεόν in this one instance raises the question whether in other localities, including Eumeneia and Apameia, we should not attribute individual examples of the formula to Jews. This question must, I think, be answered in the affirmative ; there is no inherent difficulty in the adoption and adaptation by Jews here and there of a formula containing the name of the Christian God. But such exceptions should only be allowed on definite evidence or strong presumption of Jewish origin.

The very moderation of Ramsay's chapter on "the Christian Inscriptions of South-Western Phrygia" ²—his refusal to overstate conclusions which the evidence before him already fairly established—has had its pitfalls for critics without his knowledge of the background of the argument. It was an essential step in Ramsay's argument to show that the Eumeneian formula was such as pagans, possibly even in Eumeneia, might have used ; his critics jumped and continue to jump to the conclusion that it was in fact used by pagans. It is important in this context to appreciate the exact sense of the not very happy term "crypto-Christian" as applied to

¹ Ramsay, *C.B.*, No. 563.

² *C.B.*, pp. 484 ff.

Christian epitaphs in surface cemeteries before the legalization of Christianity. The formula of dedication of the epitaph, which varied from district to district, was in every case alike for pagans and Christians ; here Christian influence appears only in nomenclature, in an occasional official title and in the use of the term *κοιμητήριον*. And in the fine-formula Christians and pagans naturally used identical language ; the only divergence between pagan and Christian use of this formula lies in the occasional provision that the fine should be paid to a pagan temple. It was in the imprecatory formula, and in occasional greetings or reflections that the two classes of inscriptions diverged. In one case—*τὸν θεὸν σοι · μὴ ἀδικήσεις*—it is certain that an imprecatory formula was used in exactly the same form by Christians and by contemporary pagans living in the same district.¹ But this case is exceptional—I am not sure that it is not unique. In general pagan formulae were modified to suit Christian feeling, or new formulae—examples are *δώσει λόγον τῷ Θεῷ* or *ἔξει πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*—were invented. The term “crypto-Christian,” when applied to third-century epitaphs, should be understood to mean not that the Christians concealed themselves under pagan formulae of inoffensive or neutral type, but that they themselves devised formulae of a type which offended neither their own conscience nor the prejudices of their pagan neighbours. All the evidence available shows that *ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν* (as editors ought always to print it) was of this type.

¹ Mr. Cox has an unpublished example, on a stone displaying the radiated god, from the Upper Tembris Valley, where the formula was used by Montanists.

ΘΡΕΠΤΟΣ AND RELATED TERMS IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASIA MINOR

by A. CAMERON

THE *θρεπτοί* who appear so frequently in inscriptions of the Roman period in Asia Minor have often attracted the attention of editors, but no very systematic attempt has been made to determine their status or the nature of their relationships to other persons.¹ In view of their numbers the question is one of some importance, and the aim of this study is to elucidate it, not only on the basis of a larger collection of epigraphic material than has hitherto been drawn upon,² but also by interpreting the inscriptions in the light of other evidence. The subject is an appropriate one for this volume; the study of the social history of Asia Minor has been not the least among the interests of the scholar to whom it is dedicated, and I am glad to offer in his honour a contribution which owes much to his advice and criticism.

THE EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

The object of this first section is to discover, as far as it can be done from the inscriptions themselves, the usage of the word *θρεπτός* with its synonyms and correlatives. Only significant inscriptions are cited, and it is necessary to bear in mind the very large number of documents which contain no internal evidence of the exact status or relationships of the persons mentioned in them. To make the discussion easier to follow the epigraphic evidence has

¹ Cf. Graindor, *Mus. Belg.*, xxv, 1921, p. 71; Robert, *Rev. Arch.*, 1933, 2, p. 125. Ramsay (*C.B.*, II, p. 546) rightly pointed out that the Latin equivalent is *alumnus* rather than *verna*.

² In addition to published collections I have drawn upon texts copied by C. W. M. Cox and myself in the Tembris valley (*C.C., Inventory*) and, by courtesy of Professor A. Wilhelm, I was able to examine some unpublished material in the *Schedae* of the TAM in the Vienna Archaeological Institute. For the *alumni* I have used the references collected in the *Thesaurus*, s.v.; Ruggiero, *Diz. ep.*, s.v.; Olcott, *Thes. Ling. Lat. Ep.*, pp. 261 ff.

been classified under three heads, and for convenience of reference a selection of the more important inscriptions has been numbered serially.

(a) *Foster-parents and foster-children*

By foster-child I mean a child whose upbringing is undertaken in some measure by persons not its own parents but which still remains legally and socially a member of its natural family. That the custom of fosterage existed in Asia Minor will appear from the following evidence :—

1. Sterrett, *W.E.*, 417.

Ἀντίοχον Τλαμόου φιλόπατριν ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν τὸ β' πρόβουλον τὸ δ' κτίστην υἱ[ὸν] πόλεως Καλλικλῆς Ἀ[ν]τιόχου ὁ καὶ Δαρεῖος ὁ θρέψας τὸν νεώτερον τοῦ πάτρωνος υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ [π]άτρωνα καὶ εὐεργέτην.

2. *CIG*, 3507.

3. *BCH*, XXIII, 1899, p. 174, No. 22.

Compare with this inscription *CIG*, 4300d, where a *θρέπτρα* is admitted to the family tomb ; *ib.*, 4325c, where the privilege is accorded τῷ μ' ἀναθρεψαμένῳ ; Heberdey-Kalinka, II, 45, where admission is granted διὰ τὸ ἀνατετραφεῖν αὐτὸν τὰ πεδία μου.

4. *C.C.*, *Inventory*, 325.

γονεῖς μὲν θάλαμον διετάσατο, Μοῖρα δὲ τύνβους·
ᾠκύτερ(ο)ν δὲ ρόδου μεμαραμένη ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι.
Αὐρ. Ἰουλιανὸς καὶ Χρυσίππη Ἰουλία θυγατρὶ ᾠώρ·
θρέψας ματαίως Ἀπόλαυ(σ)τος αἰνὸ(ν) τὸ σῆμα τετευχώς.

5. *K.-P.*, *Zweite Reise*, 128.

6. *CIG*, 3829.

In these six documents the fosterer is of lower rank than the foster-child. In No. 1 he is a freedman of the family to whom it is an honour to bring up his patron's son ; in No. 2 the Greek names of the *θρέψαντες* betray their lower rank and, in fact, the priestess of Artemis, Ulpia Marcella, is a lady of distinction ; in No. 3 the full Roman name of Tiberius Claudius Florus contrasts

with the partly Greek names of his *τροφεῖς*, and in Nos. 4, 5, and 6 the same criterion applies.

These inscriptions give the clue to others in which the evidence is not so clear. In the following, in which the names are Roman or partly Roman, it is probable that partial coincidence between the name of a foster-parent and that of a foster-child means that the fosterer is a freedman bearing the family name.

7. Ramsay, *C.B.*, II, p. 603, No. 476 (A.D. 205).

κατὰ τὰ πολλάκις δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Μέμμιαν
Ἀρίστην Τευθραντίδα ἀρχιέριαν τῆς Ἀσίας οἱ ἴδιοι θρεπτοὶ
παρ' ἐαυτῶν ἐπιμελησαμένου Κλ(αυδίου) Μεμμίου Κύρου
τοῦ τροφέως αὐτῆς. ἔτους σπθ', μη(νὸς) ια', κ'.

Memmia Ariste, it will be noted, has *θρεπτοί* of her own as well as a *τροφεύς*.

8. Μουσ. Σμυρν. V, 1884-85, p. 26.

9. *Vienna Schedae* (Afyon Karahissar).

Μ. Σηστύλλιος Σεουήρος Μ. Σηστύλλιον Πίνδαρον τὸν θρέ-
ψαντα ἐτείμησεν.

A Marcus Sextilius Pindarus appears again in an inscription of Kutahia :

9a. Ἑλλ. Φιλ. Σύλλ. XV, 1884, παράρτ, p. 68.

Μ. Σηστύλλιος Πίνδαρος καὶ Συνπόσιον γυνὴ Ἀτειμήτῳ υἱῷ
μνήμης χάριν· ἐαυτοῖς ζῶντες.

If this is the same man, it seems certain from the names of his wife and son that he owes his Roman name to emancipation.

In Nos. 10-12 the relationship is probably similar but the nomenclature does not admit of certainty.

10 Sterrett, *E.J.*, 396.

11. *SEG*, II, 654.

12. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, II, 109.

In No. 10 Caecilius Eutyche is the *θρέψας* of Quintus Caecilius Heracleides ; in No. 11 M. Ulpius Epaphroditus is the *θρέψας* of L. Iulius Bassus ; in No. 12 Claudius Trocondas is the *τροφεύς* of Philomelus.

To these should perhaps be added two further texts.

(a) Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, p. 79, No. 39.

Here [Τατ]ιανὸς Γλαῦκος and Ἀμμιανή make a dedication to Men, εὐχόμενοι αἰεὶ ὑπὲρ [θ]ρεπτῆς γένει πρώτης Σαβείν[η]ς. If γένει πρώτης is to be interpreted, as seems likely, on the analogy of γένους πρώτου (see e.g. *MAMA*, V, 28, l. 20), the relationship is clearly that of fosterage, though the word *θρεπτός* is not normally used in that context (cf. p. 48, n. 1). If it means firstborn, the *θρεπτή* might be a slave, or on the analogy of certain Latin inscriptions (*CIL*, VI, 1487; X, 2384) a daughter of the dedicators. *Θρεπτή* in the latter sense would not be unnatural where the child was so designated in relation to other persons (cf. p. 44, No. 52). *Πρωτογένης* and *Πρωτογένεια* occur as proper names, and *πρωτόγονος* is used for pathos in Kaibel, *Ep. Gr.* 365, but outside of Egypt there is no legal point in primogeniture.

(b) *IG*, XII, 5, 171 (Paros).

Aulus Babullius Crispus is son of Lucius Babullius Eros and of Babullia Secunda and *θρεπτός* of Lucius Babullius Epaphroditus. Epaphroditus may be foster-father, but it is possible, on the analogy of *ib.*, 199 (cf. p. 35, No. 22), that he is the grandfather.

Where the names are entirely Greek they do not so readily give a clue. When parents are mentioned as well as *τροφεῖς* there may sometimes be a presumption that the relationship is that of fosterage, but the conclusion is not certain (cf. p. 44, No. 52).

13. *TAM*, II, 1, 235.

Ζώσιμον τὸν καὶ Τληπόλεμον Πανκάρπου Σιδυμέα τὸν τῆς οἰκίας κτήτορα Εὐέλθων ὁ καὶ Εὐτύχης Τελεσίου Σιδυμεὺς τὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατραφέντα τεκνοστοργῇ (*sic*) μνεῖας χάριν.

The context suggests that Zosimus is of superior rank but both men are free. Although Eutyches gives his father's name we cannot conclude that he is of free birth (cf. p. 44, n. 3).

14. *C.C.*, *Inventory*, 313. The inscription ends

γονεῖς μοι δὲ Εὐτύχης κὲ Ἀγαθοτύχη
τροφεῖς δὲ Φιλοδέσποτος κὲ Φάδιλλα.

The name of the *τροφεύς* suggests that he is of servile origin or a slave.

15. C.C., *Inventory*, 54.

Εὐτύχης πατρὶ Τροφίμω κ[αὶ μη]τρὶ <ρι> μνήμης χάριν.
 Εὐτύχης Ἐλπίδα τὴν ἰδίαν τρέψασαν.

The inscriptions cited up to this point do little more than prove the existence of fosterage and suggest that the fosterer was, in general, a dependant of the foster-child's family ; they do not throw much light on the relationship. There is, however, a group of inscriptions from Lydia ¹ which gives a somewhat fuller picture of the family organization than is usual elsewhere.

16. *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, p. 200 (Kula, A.D. 184).

Διονύσιον τὸν ἱερῇ τὸν νεώτερον ἐτείμησαν ὁ πατὴρ Ἀπολλώνιος
 [Ι]ούλιος Χαμ[αίλ]έων (?) ὁμοίως κὲ ἡ μήτηρ Φιλοξένη καὶ
 ὁ ἀδελφὸς Λούκιος Θίουλος ὁμοίως κὲ Λούκιλλα ἡ ἀδελφὴ
 κὲ ὁ πάτριος Λούκιος κὲ Ἀπφίας ἡ τηθεὶς κὲ Διονύσιος κὲ
 Λούκιος τὸν συγγενῇ κὲ Φιλόξενος ὁ πάππος, Ἐλεύθερος ὁ
 μήτριος, Γραφ(ι)κὸς, Ἐπίκτησις, Εὐτυχία, Φορτουνάτα,
 Πολύκαρπος, Τρόφιμος τὸν ἑαυτῶν κύριον, Τρόφιμος,
 Δορύφορος, [Κο]υάρτα, Κουαρτεῖνος τὸν ἑαυτῶν φίλον,
 Τρόφιμος καὶ Φιλοπάτωρ κὲ Εὐτυχὶς τὸν τεθραμμένον
 βιάσαντα ἔτη ι[η'] παρὰ ἡμέρας θ', μνείας χάριν ἐτεί-
 μησαν. ἔτους σξή' μη(νὸς) Αὐδναίου γ'.

17. *Ib.*, p. 199 (Kula, A.D. 215 ?).

This inscription is on the same stone and refers to the same family as No. 16.

18. Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, p. 55 (Selendi, A.D. 64).19. K.-P., *Erste Reise*, 163 (Gordus, A.D. 118-119).20. K.-P., *Erste Reise*, 160 (Gordus, A.D. 188-189).

The relationship here is doubtful ; the τεθραμμένη might be an adopted daughter (cf. pp. 35 ff.) or even, in spite of the συγγενεῖς, unfree.

21. K.-P., *Erste Reise*, 137 (Daldis).

Here also the relationship is doubtful.

¹ For the district in general, see Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, pp. 43-115, and K.-P., *Erste Reise*, pp. 64-89. Documents similar to those cited (Nos. 16-21 and 52-56) will be found in Buresch, *op. cit.*, 27, 28 ; K.-P., *Erste Reise*, 138, 158, 162, 173 ; BCH, VIII, 1884, pp. 386, 388.

Of this group Nos. 16-19 clearly show the existence of fosterage ; it will be shown later, however, that a different relationship is described in similar terminology so that classification is sometimes doubtful.

The society reflected in these documents, including those discussed below (Nos. 52-56), may show traces of an older system which survived in this part of Lydia in spite of Hellenization and Romanization, but it will be noted that our evidence is late, and it may be that some of the peculiar features of this region are due simply to the natural development of Greek institutions under Roman rule. In some ways indeed they may seem to point forward to Byzantium rather than back to pre-Greek Anatolia. To this development the usages of the natives may have contributed, but the evidence hardly permits us to say to what extent.

One of the characteristics of these texts, as Buresch has pointed out, is that we find in them a large number of names of relationship. It is possible that the Greek terms, some of which are archaistic,¹ were adopted by a native population which had had previously a large vocabulary in this sphere and in which the feeling of family solidarity extended to a wider system of relations than was usual in more Hellenized communities, but the possibility of a mere local fashion in funerary inscriptions must be reckoned with.

From the frequent occurrence of the terms *οἱ ἱδιοὶ* and *οἱ συγγενεῖς* (17-21, 52-56), it is clear that the feeling extended even further than the numerous relatives mentioned by name. The *συγγενεῖς* might be members of a village community such as is called *συγγένεια*² at Olymos (Buckler, *BSA*, XXII, p. 213 ; cf. the *δῆμος* in No. 2), but the common usage of the word and the context suggest a bond of natural relationship. This may have been like that reflected in the names of some old Attic demes and

¹ It is perhaps unlikely that terms such as *ἐνάτηρ* and *δαήρ* had survived in ordinary usage. There is some evidence that in the Hellenistic period *ἐνάτηρ* had been replaced by *σύννυμφος*, and it is possible that its usage in the inscriptions is a literary affectation such as is known elsewhere (Eustathius, 648, 43).

² Cf. also *SEG*, 537 ; K.-P., *Zweite Reise*, 155 ; *BSA*, XXII, 1916-18, p. 213 ; *Rev. Phil.*, LI, 1927, p. 123 ; Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, p. 467 ; Athenaeus, XII, p. 517 f. (Etruria). The persistence of the clannish organization of the *συγγένεια* is illustrated by conditions at the Byzantine court (G. Buckler, *Anna Comnena*, p. 121).

γένη,¹ and it is possible that the designation Λαβραντίδαι² in this region is the Hellenization of an old native family name for a group of this kind, but here again the possibility of artificial archaizing must be borne in mind.

These groups may have formed, as in Attica, the nucleus not only of political units but also of the religious associations which are found in this district under the name of *συμβίωσις* and *δοῦμος*.³ At least an original family or clan basis seems to be reflected also in the name *φράτρα* which is found in a similar sense.⁴ The combination of religious and secular relationship appears in Nos. 16 and 17, where the deceased is described in each case as τὸν ἱερῇ τὸν νεώτερον. The explanation is indicated by a comparison of *LW*, 667, in which occurs a *ἱερὰ συμβίωσις καὶ νεωτέρα*, i.e. a *συμβίωσις τῶν νεωτέρων*. The associations were divided into two sections of *seniores* and *iuniores*, and our priests held office in the latter. That the priest in No. 17 is *μαθητής* of an *ἱητρός* is probably not accidental. The titles of doctor and priest are found combined in an inscription of Kula which mentions an *ἀρχίατρος καὶ ἱεροφάντης*, and in Tenos⁵ a *ἱερὸς ἱατρός* is an officer of a *συμβίωσις*. It is possible that *ἱατρός* in those cases is nothing more than a title, but No. 17 suggests that the practice of medicine was combined with religious office.⁶ In the Tenos inscription the members are described as *φίλοι*, a term which, as Buresch points out, recalls the word used of the deceased in an inscription set up by a *συμβίωσις* in this area⁷; the same word recurs, it will be noted, in Nos. 16, 17, and 22, perhaps in a similar sense.

I have dealt with this group of inscriptions at some length in order to show the social context in which the relationships with which we are more directly concerned are found. The consideration

¹ For patronymic names see ([Dem.] *lix*, 61); Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatsk.*, 2, pp. 954 ff. (cf. 1, p. 251, n. 4).

² *BCH*, XI, 1887, p. 84; Buresch, p. 9. For artificial patronymic forms see Buresch, p. 164.

³ For *δοῦμος*, cf. *MAMA*, V, 183, note; for *συμβίωσις*, Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, p. 63 f. Cf. *θίασος*, Busolt-Swoboda, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

⁴ K.-P., *Zweite Reise*, 147. For the use of *φράτρα*, cf. Artemidorus, 4, 44; 5, 82, quoted by Buresch, p. 55 (cf. pp. 130 ff.).

⁵ *IG*, XII, 5, 912 = *CIG*, 2339b (Buresch, p. 55). The arrangement of the text is doubtful; it seems possible that *ἱερὸς* and *ἱατρός* may be separate titles.

⁶ Cf. K.-P., *Erste Reise*, 179 and note.

⁷ *Μουσ. Συμπν.*, 1880, p. 157.

of some other features must be postponed till later, and to complete the picture it would be necessary also to consider the religious cults, which hardly come within our scope. It is in religion that the survival of native institutions is most clearly seen; in other respects there is little if anything that cannot be derived from Greek sources. It is true, however, that there is comparatively little evidence of Roman influence.

The results with regard to fosterage may now be summarized. We saw that the custom was found both among families showing signs of Roman influence and among others apparently purely provincial. The fosterer was, perhaps always, a dependant of the child's family,¹ and the analogy of Welsh custom suggests that fosterage may occasionally have been used as a device for securing the inheritance of a freedman,² if not by legal means at least by establishing a tie of affection. The custom also had the advantage of relieving richer parents of a troublesome task; the mother thus rid herself of the duty of suckling the infant³ and the father of supervising its education in the early stages. On the side of the foster-parent childlessness or the loss of children might be an inducement (as it was in adoption), but no doubt the duty was often imposed by the *patronus*. In any case the tie between the foster-child on the one hand and the foster-parents and their children⁴ on the other seems to have lasted into later life, as it did in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland⁵ before the intrusion of modern English influences. Some honorary inscriptions seem to reflect a certain pride in the position of *τροφεύς* to a child of distinguished family, a feature which also recurs in the Celtic countries. If our conclusion in this matter is correct, the relationship is different from that reflected in the numerous nursing-contracts from Egypt (p. 62, n. 3) which can hardly have given rise to a permanent tie. The

¹ Cf. Ellis, *Welsh Tribal Law and Custom in the Middle Ages*, Vol. I, p. 385: "Fosterage was usually the placing of a son of a superior with men of inferior status."

² The inheritance was sometimes secured as a condition of manumission, cf. Calderini, *La Manomissione*, p. 290 and p. 320. The converse claim to inherit on the part of *nutritores* is rejected in *Cod. Just.*, 6, 59, 10 (A.D. 294).

³ Cf. Ambrose, *Hexameron*, V, 18: *si ditiores sunt lactare fastidiunt*; Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, I, 27.

⁴ Cf. *Dig.*, 34, 4, 30, for a *liberta* and *collactanea* as heir.

⁵ Cf. J. Cameron, *Celtic Law*, pp. 62 ff., 220 ff.

Egyptian nurse, or her master, is paid for the service, and the relationship ends with a quittance after a short period specified in the contract. There is no evidence in the inscriptions as to what length of time, if any, the child spent in the household of the fosterers. It is probable that as a rule it was not far removed from its parents.¹

It is not part of the object of this paper to discuss the widespread custom of fosterage in general, but it is relevant to a later argument to recall that the fosterer is known already in Greek mythology and in Homer, and that Sappho's relation to her pupils is in some respects like that of a *θρέψασα*. In classical Greece, however, the *τροφός* is a much more familiar figure than the *τροφεύς*. For the origin of the custom in Asia Minor it is important that fosterage was found in the Egyptian court and in the courts of the Hellenistic kings.² The courts are a kind of pattern for ordinary life and the terms *τροφεύς* and *σύντροφος* which we have seen used among people of comparatively humble station were there used as titles of honour.³

(b) *The adopted child*

The word *θρεπτός* is rarely used in those contexts in which the ordinary formulae of adoption so often occur. In an inscription from Paros it is found along with one such formula and is clearly not equivalent to it.

22. IG, XII, 5, 199.

Γάϊος Ἰούλιος [Μνησικλείδου υἱὸς Ἐπιάνναξ καὶ] Ἑλικωνιάς οἱ
μαῖοι τὸν θρεπτὸν Ἐπιάννακτα Δεξικράτους καθ' υἱοθεσίαν
δὲ Γαίου Ἰουλίου Μνησικλείδου υἱοῦ Ἐπιάννακτος Ἰλειθύην.

To judge from a comparison with other texts (IG, XII, 5, 358 and 1030; IG, XII, 3, 1116) Mnesikleides and Helikonias are probably grandparents of their adopted child Epianax, who is doubtless the

¹ In *P. Rylands*, 153, there is a striking case of a Hermoupolite who institutes as heir a son *ὃν κατέλιψα ἐν Ζμύρνῃ τῆς Ἀσίας παρὰ τροφῷ θηλάζοντα*.

² Cf. Erman-Ranke, *Aegypten und aeg. Leben im Alt.*, p. 90; Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, IV, 1², p. 384; Berve, *Das Alexanderreich*, p. 4 and p. 235 f.; OGI, 247, n. 2; MAMA, III, 62. The custom was widespread in the later Roman empire, cf. *Cod. Theod.*, XX, 9, 31 (A.D. 409): *nemo curialium plebeiorum possessorumve filios suos nutriendos pastoribus tradat. aliis vero rusticanis, ut fieri solet, nutriendos dari non vetamus*.

³ Cf., for example, Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, 1568.

son of their daughter, the wife of Dexikrates. The adoption of a grandchild is not unknown elsewhere (Wyse on Isaeus, VIII, 36, 8). *Θρεπτός*, then, denotes not the legal relationship of adoption but the natural relationship between a grandson and grandparents who are also his upbringers.

The three following examples¹ offer perhaps the nearest approach to the use of *θρεπτός* in a formula like that of adoption. It is hardly likely that the name of a foster-parent would appear as part of a formal designation, but in some areas and in some contexts the double designation would not exclude the possibility that the *θρεπτός* was a slave (cf. No. 52 and p. 44).

23. TAM, II, 1, 54.

1. 4. [τὸν υἱὸν α]ὐτοῦ Διονύσιον θρεπτὸν Εὐφροσύνου.

24. IG, IX, 2, 804 (Larisa).

Προκοπίων Ἰστρου υἱὸς Φιλίσκου θρεπτὸς ἥρως χρηστὸς χαῖρε.

25. Ἀθηνᾶ, XX, 1908, p. 204 (Chios); cf. Wilhelm, *Glotta*, XVI, 1928, p. 278.

This text includes the formula *Φησίνου τροφῇ γονῇ δὲ Προμηθέος*.

These inscriptions must be distinguished from others in which adopted persons are designated *θρεπτοί*. Thus in an inscription from Thera (IG, XII, 3, 926: *Φιλόξενος τὸν ἴδιον θρεπτὸν Ἀβάσκαντον ἀφηρώϊξε*) a certain Abascantus appears as the *θρεπτός* of Philoxenus, while from another inscription (*ib.*, 481) it appears that he had a son called Philoxenus who was archon in A.D. 213-217. The editor takes the elder Philoxenus to be the *educator*, but the word *θρεπτός* is rare or unknown in that usage (cf. p. 48, n. 1), and the rank of the younger Philoxenus and his name point to the

¹ To these should perhaps be added CIG, 3808 (Flaviopolis): *Ζιάιλις Σεύθη τῷ θρέφαντι καὶ φυσικῷ πατρὶ μνήμης καὶ εὐσεβείας χάριν*. It is quite uncertain how this inscription should be classified. If *Φυσικός* is a proper name, which seems unlikely, Ziailis may be a foster-son, an adopted son, or even an unfree *θρεπτός*; if it is an adjective, the father is unnamed and Ziailis is probably adopted but may be unfree. That the contrast expressed by *φύσει* could be not with an adoptive parent but with the *θρέψας* of an unfree child seems to follow from IBM, 306c, where a child is released *τῶν ἐλευθερωτικῶν δικαίων*, but is bound to serve its natural mother (*παρὰ μὲν δὲ τῇ φύσει μητρὶ*). If Seuthes is both *θρέψας* and *φυσικὸς πατήρ* Ziailis may be a bastard (cf. p. 52, n. 4); this interpretation is, perhaps, the most probable.

adoption of his father. It does not follow, however, that the word *θρεπτός* specifically denotes the adoption. The same point applies to the interpretation of the following documents.

26. *LW*, 1585 = *CIG*, 2747.

Ἀφροδείτῃ θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς τῷ [δήμ]ῳ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὰ ἀναλήμματα Ἀριστοκλῆς Ἀρτεμιδώρου Μολοσσὸς φιλόδοξος καὶ φιλόπολις ἐργεπιστατήσαντος Ἑρμῆ Ἀριστοκλέους τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου κατὰ τὰς Μολοσσῶν τοῦ θρέψαντος αὐτοῦ διαθήκας.

Hermas is apparently a man of good standing; he appears again in *LW*, 1611, with the name Molossos which suggests that Aristokles adopted him, perhaps in consequence of the death of his son which is recorded in *BCH*, XIV, 1890, p. 237.¹

27. *MAMA*, I, 22a.

The names and the rank of both parties suggest that the *τρόφιμος* of this text is an adopted son. So also, perhaps, in Benndorf-Niemann, 24.

28. *Rev. Ét. Anc.*, IV, 1902, p. 258 f., No. 2, and V, 1903, p. 10.

Here the "*θρεπτός*" (*δ' ἀνεθρεψάμεν*) is heir² which may involve adoption, but the relationship might be that of fosterage. If the "*θρεπτός*" is unfree, the testator is no doubt childless (*Mitteis, Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, p. 338 f.).

29. *Stud. E.R.P.*, p. 138, and *JRS*, XVII, 1927, p. 49.

Here a *θρεπτός* is found marrying a daughter of the house. It seems probable that such a marriage implies adoption, for we know that in Greece it was common for a son to be adopted for that purpose and the custom is found in Galatia³; its occurrence

¹ I owe the explanation of this inscription to W. H. Buckler who adds references to *Rev. Phil.*, XXXVIII, 1914, p. 212, for notices of Molossos.

² Institution as heir does not necessarily imply adoption; cf. P. M. Meyer, *Jur. Pap.*, p. 66, No. 25, where two female slaves are emancipated by will and instituted as *κληρονόμοι* (cf. *RE*, VII, col. 99). The *κληρονόμος* of Sterrett, *WE*, 624, need not have been adopted and was probably an emancipated *θρεπτή*: I do not understand Guthrie's view of the relationship (*JHS*, LVII, 1937, p. 79 f.). For *alumni* as heirs cf. *Dig.*, 34, 4, 30; 34, 9, 16; *CIL*, X, 3927; V, 990; VI, 15983; VI, 24474.

³ *Klio*, X, p. 238, No. 9, with Calder's discussion, *JThS*, XXXI, 1930, pp. 372 ff. For marriage of a son with a *τεθρεμμένη*, cf. *Ελλ. Φιλ. Σύλλ.*, XV, p. 67 = *CR*, XII, 1898, p. 97; with an *alumna* (?), *CIL*, IX, 4755.

among the *alumni* is shown by its use as a motif in pseudo-Quintilian, *Declam.*, 376. It has been suggested (*Stud. E.R.P.*, *loc. cit.*) that this usage rests on an original system of inheritance through the female line, but it is more natural to suppose that it arose in societies where women had no right of inheritance.¹ This may have been true of some native societies in Asia Minor,² but the custom is so characteristically Greek that there is no need to look for a native origin.

It will be seen that the texts cited fall into two classes, those in which *θρεπτός* (*τροφή*) seems to be used as equivalent to the more usual terms expressing adoption and those in which *θρεπτοί* are adopted. There is one instance where *θρεπτοί* seems to be used in a general sense to denote adopted children. In *LW*, 1527, Titus Ulpius Isidorus makes a tomb for his freedmen and freedwomen *καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν οὖσι καὶ γενησομένοις πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις· οἷς δ' οὐκ εἰσὶ παῖδες ὧν ἂν ὦσι θρεπτοὶ ἢ θρεπταί*. Here the *θρεπτοί* seem to be *de facto* adopted children, but it would be rash to generalize from this case, since it is easy to show that they occur frequently along with natural children. The explanation lies in the status of the people concerned; they belong to a rank in which formal legal adoption is unfamiliar and they have no need of legal terms. They applied the word to the child "adopted" in infancy (whatever its origin) because that term was familiarly in use to describe any child brought up in a quasi-filial relationship to persons other than its own parents, without regard to its exact legal status; so, for example, it is used of step-children in relation to their step-father (*CR*, XI, 1897, p. 137). It seems likely, then, that even where the word *θρεπτός* (or an equivalent) is used of a legally adopted child it implies rearing from childhood and would hardly be applied to a son adopted at a later age, unless the term had been applicable to him before adoption. In other words, though *θρεπτοί* may be adopted, the word does not denote that relationship technically, except in a few cases, and even in these probably with an additional meaning.

¹ Cf. Weiss, *Griechisches Privatrecht*, I, p. 193; this explanation is applied by Koschaker to meet the facts in Babylonia (David, *Die Adoption im altbabyl. Recht*, p. 23, n. 60).

² Justinian's *Edict V* proves that women were excluded from inheritance in Armenia.

(c) *Θρεπτοί of servile status*

That some *θρεπτοί* are unfree appears from records of their manumission.

30. K.-P., *Zweite Reise*, 242, ll. 4 ff.

Χάρης Χάρητος ἐ[ποίησα τὰς ταφ]ὰς τῆς κυρίας μου [Nomen Cognomen] ας ἥς μνήμαις ἰς πέν[θος δάκρυα χ]ύνω καλὰς ἐντολὰς ὑ[πὲρ ἐμ]οῦ καταλιπούσης ἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἃς ὁ (σ)ύντροφός¹ μου τετήρηκε καὶ ὁ θρέψας.

As the context shows, Chares is the *θρεπτός* of the dead lady who has commanded his manumission in her will. The manumission, however, cannot be carried out without the consent of her son (the *σύντροφος*) and husband. The consent of the heir was a feature of Greek custom in testamentary dispositions² and is necessary even in manumission during life.³

Another method of manumission, the sacral,⁴ is also applied to *θρεπτοί*, as is shown by a particularly interesting group of inscriptions from the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos and the neighbouring villages in the region of Motella.⁵

31. *JHS*, VIII, 1887, p. 376, No. 1 = Ramsay, *C.B.*, I, p. 147, No. 37 = *IGR*, IV, 758 (Badinlar, A.D. 209).

ἔτους σφγ', μηνὸς σ', κ'. Ἀπόλλωνι Λαιρμηνῶ Μᾶρκος Διονυσιοδ[ώ]ρου Μοτελληνὸς καταγράφω Ἀμμίαν τὴν θρε[πτήν] μου κατὰ τὴν ἐπιταγὴν θεοῦ εἰ δέ τις ἐπενκαλέσει θήσει ἰς τὸν θεὸν προστείμου δην. βφ' καὶ εἰς τὸν φίσκον ἄλλ. δην. βφ'.

32. *MAMA*, IV, 275B (II) (at the Hieron, A.D. 225-226).

33. *Ib.*, 276A (II) (*ib.*).

34. *Ib.*, 276C (*ib.*, A.D. second century).

35. *Ib.*, 277A (II) (*ib.*, A.D. 208-209).

36. *Ib.*, 278 (I) (Sazak, A.D. 239-240).

This record prescribes the duty of *παραμονή*; see note *ad loc.*

¹ The stone has *νὺν τροφός*, but the correction seems certain.

² Cf. *Test. Epict.* (Schwyzer, 227); Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, p. 372; Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 289; David, *op. cit.*, p. 76, n. 30; *CIL*, X, 7457. *Ἐντολή* is technical, cf. *Test. Epict.*, I, 10; Lipsius, *Att. R.*, p. 773. The will no doubt made it a condition that Chares should pay for the tomb (cf. Calderini, *La Manomissione*, p. 281 f.).

³ *IG*, VII, 3301 and 3326; Mitteis, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 374 ff.; Weiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 296 ff.

⁵ *MAMA*, IV, p. xiv f. and pp. 95 ff.; Robert, *Villes d'Asie mineure*, pp. 127 ff.; *RE*, *Suppl.* V, cols. 521 ff.

37. *JHS*, IV, 1883, p. 380, No. 3 = Ramsay, *C.B.*, I, p. 147, No. 38 (Sazak, A.D. 232).

The text is mutilated, but it seems certain that the parents as well as the *θρέψας* are mentioned. The relationship is doubtful.

38. *JHS*, VIII, 1887, p. 378 (Badinlar).

39. *JHS*, IV, 1883, p. 381, No. 4 = Ramsay, *C.B.*, I, p. 148, No. 39 (Sazak).

A comparison with documents from other sources ¹ seems to show that the inscriptions just cited are records of manumission, a conclusion which is supported especially by No. 36. The group as a whole, however, presents a number of peculiar features which must be noted. In the first place it is striking that the word *δοῦλος* does not appear in the records ²; secondly, the manumission sometimes takes place *κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ θεοῦ* or *κατ' ὄνειρον*, which is rather strange if legal and economic questions are involved (31, 35, 37?, 39?); lastly, in a number of otherwise parallel texts the persons conveyed to the god are the children of the dedicators.

The mention of the *fiscus* or city treasury along with the god in the clauses imposing fines suggests that these documents are records of real manumission recognized by the law, and that the *στηλογραφία* at the shrine is a mere survival of true sacral manumission, though it still serves a certain purpose as a method of giving the necessary publicity.³ It has been suggested,⁴ however, that here and in the parallel series of documents from Macedonia we have to do with a conveyance to the god of persons who become *δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ* or *ἱεροί*⁵ and are in some way bound to the service of the temple. The evidence is hardly sufficient to support this conclusion, and it seems more probable that, even where the conveyance took place *κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ θεοῦ*, the intention was to manumit. The intervention of the god in such a matter was not

¹ For the material see Weiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 286 ff.

² It is used in *MAMA*, IV, 279, in a confession inscription.

³ Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

⁴ Latte, *Heiliges Recht*, p. 104; *RE*, Suppl. V, col. 525 f.

⁵ Cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, XI, 1886, p. 270, No. 13 (Lesbos), which seems to contain a list of *θρεπτοί* manumitted as *ἱεροί*. It is possible that the *ἱεροί* of Lairbenos were recruited by "emancipation" of this type, but little is known of their status; they are designated by the father's name but without an ethnic and they can manumit (No. 37 and *MAMA*, IV, 277B).

a serious interference with the rights of the master, since it seems probable, in view of the position of *θρεπτοί* in the family and the restricted rights of Greek freedmen, that little real change would be made by the alteration of their legal status. Many of them were no doubt the natural children of their masters *ἐκ παιδίσκης*. This relationship, as well as the dedicatory form, would explain also why there is no mention of payment for manumission.

The documents in which the persons conveyed to the god are the children of the dedicators are at first sight difficult to reconcile with Roman law. The conveyance of free children to a state of slavery would hardly have been tolerated, but it is conceivable that the conveyance of children by their parents was either a fictitious transference to the service of the god for some motive that escapes us or a real transference to some kind of quasi-servitude such as might be winked at by the Roman administration. It is more probable that the editors are right in assuming that one of the parents is a slave.¹ In 275B (I) and 276A (III) the dedicator is a woman, and they take the view that the children are the offspring of cohabitation with a slave; in 276B and 277B, where the dedicator is a man, they take the child to be the son of a slave woman although in the latter text he is *ἐκγονος* and *κληρονόμος*. If this explanation is right, the children are described in terms of their natural rather than their legal relationship. Another explanation also suggests itself, namely that the parents are freedmen who have purchased a child born in slavery with a view to manumission.² This explanation might apply to No. 37, though the status and relationships of the persons are doubtful. This situation would arise where the duty of rearing a *θρέμμα* was imposed on a manumitted *θρεπτή* if, as might happen, the *θρέμμα* was her own child (GDI, 3599, Kalymna).

It will be seen then that the internal evidence of this group of documents on the status of the *θρεπτοί* is not so clear as it might seem. If any of the children conveyed to the god by their parents are free, the case for regarding all the *θρεπτοί* as unfree would be so far weakened. The use of the word elsewhere, however, in

¹ For provincial custom in Egypt, see Taubenschlag, *Savigny-Ztschr.*, L, 1930, p. 144.

² Mitteis, *op. cit.*, p. 393 f.; Calderini, *op. cit.*, p. 292 f.; Taubenschlag, *loc. cit.*, p. 146, n. 4.

a context where slaves ἐκ παιδίσκης are conveyed in the same way,¹ along with the other evidence, proves that they are rightly taken as of servile status.

This conclusion with regard to the documents of Asia Minor is supported by the mention of *θρεπτοί* in similar records from Greece. Among those of Chaeronea (*IG*, VII, pp. 3301 ff.) two are particularly interesting, No. 3378, where the *θρεπτός* is distinguished from the *δοῦλος*, and No. 3376 (*SIG*, 1207) which contains the phrase τὸν ἴδιον θρεπτὸν ὃν εἶχε οἰκογενῇ, a phrase which implies that *θρεπτός* was not simply equivalent to *οἰκογενής*, the word which corresponds to *verna* according to the definition of Dio Chrysostom (*XV*, 25).

In some other inscriptions it is implied that *θρεπτοί* are freedmen.

40. *JHS*, XVII, 1897, p. 290.

ἀπελεύθεροι to their θρέψας.

41. Heberdey-Kalinka, II, 22.

τεκνόθρεπτοι ἀπελεύθεροι; cf. the *υἱόθρεπτος* in K.-P., *Dritte Reise*, 31.

42. *Ath. Mitt.*, XIII, 1888, p. 241, No. 19.

ἀπελεύθερος καὶ θρεπτός; cf. *IG*, V, 1208.

43. *LW*, 646.

Name and context suggest that the *θρεπτός* is a freedman.

44. *Ath. Mitt.*, IX, 1884, p. 68, No. 6.

Nomenclature suggests that the *θρέμματα* are freedmen.

The evidence of these texts is confirmed by that of *GIBM*, 306-314, Paton-Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos*, 130, and *SIG*, 1211 (*Kalymna*), where the *θρεμμάτια* are emancipated κατὰ τοὺς ἀπελευθερωτικούς νόμους.

There is finally evidence of “*θρεπτοί*” actually in the state of slavery.

¹ *RE*, loc. cit.

45. *CIG*, 3568*d*.

A φαμιλία to the θρέψαντες.

46. *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV, 1899, p. 206, No. 16.

The phrase οἰκοδεσπότης φιλοθρέμματος implies the correlation δεσπότης and θρέμμα. Cf. *ib.*, p. 360, which implies the correlation κύριος and θρεπτός.

47. *Ath. Mitt.*, XXV, 1900, p. 122, No. 11.

The θρεμμάτια are admitted to the family tomb ἐὰν παραμείνωσί μοι (cf. No. 36), but no one is permitted κεινῆσαί τινα τῶν δεσποτῶν.

48. K.-P., *Zweite Reise*, 142 (Giöckcheler, between 236-237 and A.D. 244-245).

A number of θρέμματα, of whom five are named, join in a dedication to their αὐθέντρια.

49. *Studia Pontica*, III, 5.

A funerary inscription by a woman κυρίῳ καὶ θρέψαντι. The word κύριος is not sufficiently explicit to determine the status of the woman (cf. κυρίῳ καὶ ἀνδρί in Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 285), but she is probably unfree.

In the examples just cited (45-49) the relationship is that of master and slave. In two further texts both parties may be slaves.

50. K.-P., *Zweite Reise*, 278.

Ἀτείμητος Κέσαρος δοῦλος οἰκονόμος Φοίβῳ καὶ Ἀκυνέα Εὐτελείᾳ
θρέψασιν τὸ μνήμα ἐποίει.

51. *TAM*, II, 1, 338.

Στεφάνου οἰκέτου· ἐγὼ κηδευθήσομαι καὶ Λαῖνα ἥν ἀνεθρεψάμην.

The context is hardly sufficient to make clear the status of the θρέψαντες in 50 or of the θρεπτή in 51, but in both the relationship may be a sort of quasi-adoption among slaves (cf. *LW*, 1527, p. 38 above).

To this evidence for slave θρεπτοί two further points may be added. In a series of Lycian texts (*CIG*, 4224*d*, 4300*e*, 4300*f*, 4300*v* ;

TAM, II, 2, 604) we find that *θρεπτοί* are granted burial in the *ὑποσόριον*, a part of the tomb also granted to slaves (4300i, 4303h2) and freedmen (4300v).¹ Secondly, we find terms applied to *θρεπτοί* which recall those applied to *alumni* and are more appropriate to slaves than to freedmen (e.g. LW, 896).

The evidence of the inscriptions, though sufficient on occasion to determine questions of status, is rarely sufficient to throw much light on the social position of the *θρεπτοί*, but in the Lydian group already referred to (pp. 31 ff.) there are some which assist in forming some conception of their position in the family.

52. Körte, *Inscr. Bur.*, 28 (Gordus, A.D. 109).

ἐτους ργγ' μη(νός) Γορπιαίου ζ'. Θεότιμος Παῦλα Θυνίτης
'Απφιάς Μενέμαχος Θυνίτης ἐτίμησαν Σύνετον θρεπτ[όν],
'Ονησίμη 'Απολλωνίδης υἱόν, Τελέσφορος πενθερίδῃ, Πολυ-
νίκη 'Ονησίμη 'Αμμιον 'Απολλωνίδης ἀδελφόν, Τύχη Φοῖβος
σύντροφον, καὶ οἱ ἴδιοι. χαῖρε.

The *θρέψαντες* here are people of high rank² and the parents are mentioned after them. The situation, then, is the converse of that which we noted in discussing fosterage and suggests that the *θρεπτός* here is unfree. That the parents and *ἴδιοι* are mentioned is no objection to this conclusion³; in No. 30 for example a freedman *θρεπτός* is designated by his father's name. It is possible, indeed likely, that the parents are also slaves so that *θρεπτός* in this instance would be equivalent to *verna*.⁴

53. Wagener, *Mém. cour. par l'Ac. roy. de Belg.*, 40, 1861, No. 9 (Gordus, A.D. 76).

A certain Ammias joins in honouring Thynites and his son Metrophanes as τὸν θρέψαντα καὶ τὸν σύντροφον. Cf. Buresch,

¹ Cf. Stemler, *Gr. Grabschr. Kleinasiens*, p. 44, and p. 47 f.

² Cf. Körte, p. 16: *fuisse enim Theotimum Paulam Thyniten inter nobilissimos Iuliae Gordi cives duo tituli a Wagenero editi (8, 9) anno p. Chr. n. 37 et 76 confecti probant.*

³ Cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV, 1899, p. 360, for a slave "*θρεπτός*" who is "honoured" by his master as well as by his parents and brothers. The betrothal of a slave girl seems to be mentioned in CIG, 3344b = Kaibel, 313. In CIG, 4325b, a master and his son erect a tomb for a slave, his wife, children, grandchildren, and other relatives.

⁴ Cf. Statius, *Silvae*, II, 1, 69 (of his *alumnus*):

hic domus, hinc ortus, dominique penetibus olim
carus uterque parens atque in tua gaudia liber.

27, where τὰ τεθραμμένα join in honouring τὸν σύντροφον, and 28, where a lady is θρέψασα of three persons and σύντροφος of another.

54. K.-P., *Erste Reise*, 172 (Gordus, A.D. 171-172).

Along with the relatives eight persons honour the deceased as their θρέψας.

55. K.-P., *Erste Reise*, 174 (Gordus, A.D. 180-181).

Tryphon joins with relatives in honouring his θρέψασα.

56. K.-P., *Erste Reise*, 157 (Gordus, A.D. 109-110).

ἔτους ργδ' μη(νὸς) Δαισίου κ' (?). Κλ[α]υδία Πελαγία ἐτείμῃσιν [Τ]ετραίτην τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα καὶ Εὐτυχὸς τὸν συνεξελεύθερον, Ἀντιστράτ[ι]ος τὸν οἰκεῖον, Διόδωτος Ὀσι[αν]ὸς Εὐφρημος τὸν φίλον, Ἀφφίον τὸν σύντεκνον, Ὀνήσιμος τὸν θρέψαντα καὶ ἡ γείτονες [τ]ὸν συνεποκιανὸν καὶ οἱ συγγαίνῃς. χαίρει.

This inscription reflects in a lower grade of society the same wide system of relationship which was noted above (p. 32). It includes here not only the φίλοι and συγγενεῖς but the γείτονες in general.¹

The inscriptions naturally reflect the more pleasant side of the relation between master and slave² and therefore give a favourable impression of the position of the unfree θρεπτοί. This impression must be modified by other considerations,³ but it is in keeping with what is known of the development of the institution of slavery, in the Roman Empire. The θρεπτοί are distinguished from mere δοῦλοι⁴; custom recognizes their marriage⁵ and their relationships; the funerary inscriptions mention them along with relatives

¹ For the neighbours see Weiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 248 ff., and notes 27 and 28 on p. 251, in which γείτονες, φίλοι, and οἰκεῖοι recur. For the ancient bond of neighbourhood in another aspect, v. E. Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus*, p. 120, n. 1, with the ref. to Aristoph., *Nubes* 1322: ὦ γείτονες καὶ ξυγγενεῖς καὶ δημόται.

² Cf. Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, p. 388, n. 2.

³ The analogy of modern custom (p. 60) suggests that in the hands of some masters they might be exposed to abominable cruelties. Prostitution was no doubt the fate of many (cf. p. 55), and in Seneca we have a hint of the possibility of artificial deformation of *alumni* in order to bring them up as professional beggars (*Controv.*, X, 4, 33). The context in Seneca, however, shows that *alumni* might normally expect more favourable treatment, and in Salvianus, *Epist.*, IV, 9, the *alumna* ranks between the *ancilla* and the *filia*.

⁴ Cf. *Cod. Just.*, VIII, 16, 1, where *alumni* are included with *ceteras res quas neminem credibile est pignori specialiter daturum fuisse*, i.e. in this respect they rank with children rather than *servi*; below, p. 52, n. 3.

⁵ Cf. Mitteis, *op. cit.*, p. 369 f.

and friends, and they are granted burial in the family tomb ; they also have a part in religious life,¹ and they appear to have control of funds for they are found contributing to the cost of tombs² and honorary monuments.³ In our series of Lydian inscriptions we are fortunate in possessing a group of texts which give a fairly complete picture of the system of relationships which we have described. We see there the provincial community still showing in the Roman period traces of an old basis of blood relationship and religion, the local magnate whose son is nurtured by a dependant family, the troop of slaves brought up with their master's children and the slave family recognized by custom, if not by law, and admitted to the list of those who honour the dead.

The essential epigraphic evidence has now been produced and we may proceed to summarize conclusions, first with regard to the relationships discussed and then on the terminology employed. We have found reflected in the inscriptions relationships of three different kinds ; that of the foster-child to the foster-parent who is, perhaps always, a dependant of the family ; that of the adoptive child to the adoptive parent (including the relationship of step-child to step-parent) ; that of the slave of a particular class to his master. In the description of these different relationships a similar but not quite identical terminology is employed, of which the main features may now be set forth.

The terms used of the foster-child⁴ are ὁ τεθραμμένος (16, 17, 20, 21) and its equivalent ὁ ἀνατραφεὶς (13). The foster-parents are called τροφεῖς (3, 14 ; *JRS*, XIV, 1924, p. 52, No. 48), θρέψαντες (1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 18, 19), and ὁ ἀναθρεψάμενος (*CIG*, 4325c).

In regard to the terminology of adoption, it must be remembered that *θρεπτός* and related terms do not express the legal relationship so much as a personal relationship which may accompany adoption but is independent of it. "Adopted" children, in this sense, are called *θρεπτοί* (22, 23, 24, 29 ; *IG*, XII, 3, 926 ; *LW*, 1527),

¹ *JHS*, XXXII, 1912, p. 129, Nos. 14, 24, 30, 68.

² *CIG*, 3270.

³ *JHS*, IV, 1883, p. 411, No. 7 above.

⁴ *Θρέμμα* for foster-child restored in *JHS*, XVII, 1897, p. 409, No. 12, is hardly right.

τεθρεμμένη (Ελλ. Φιλ. Σύλλ., XV, p. 67 = CR, XII, 1898, p. 97), or described by periphrasis $\delta\upsilon\upsilon$ (ἤν) ἀνεθρεψάμην (28 ?, 51) ; $\tau\rho\acute{o}\phi\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$ in the sense of adopted son is doubtful (27, Benndorf-Niemann 24).¹ The adoptive parent is called $\theta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\psi\alpha\varsigma$ in 26, 50 ?, and CIG, 3808 ? The step-child is called $\theta\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ in CR, XI, 1897, p. 137.

The unfree $\theta\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ appears not only under that designation (7, 34, 35, 36, 52) but also as $\theta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu\mu\alpha$ ² (44, 48 ; Sterrett, E.J., 386 = BCH, X, 1886, p. 518 ; cf. 46, $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\theta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$), $\theta\rho\epsilon\mu\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon$ (47), $\tau\epsilon\kappa\nu\acute{o}\theta\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (41), $\upsilon\acute{\iota}\acute{o}\theta\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (K.-P., Dritte Reise, 31), \acute{o} $\tau\epsilon\theta\rho\epsilon\mu\mu\epsilon\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ ³ (39, Buresch 27, $\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\tau\epsilon\theta\rho\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$), $\theta\rho\epsilon\mu\epsilon\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ (32, 33), as well as in periphrasis (37, $\delta\upsilon\upsilon$ $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\rho\epsilon\psi\epsilon\upsilon$). The master (mistress) of the unfree $\theta\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ appears as $\theta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\psi\alpha\varsigma$ ⁴ ($\theta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\psi\alpha\varsigma\alpha$) (30, 40, 45, 49, 53, 54, 55, 56 ?) as well as under such designations as $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma$, $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$ and $\alpha\upsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\rho\iota\alpha$; once the mistress appears as $\tau\rho\omicron\phi\acute{o}\varsigma$ (Kaibel, 247). Here too it must be noted that $\theta\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ expresses not a legal status but a permanent personal relation and hence (unlike $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) is still applicable even after manumission or adoption.

The word $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\tau\rho\omicron\phi\omicron\varsigma$ is applied to the foster-child in relation to the children of the $\tau\rho\omicron\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ (18 ?, 20, 21), to the children of the $\tau\rho\omicron\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ in relation to the foster-child (6, 17,⁵ Petersen-von Luschan, 23, LW 896), to the young master of unfree $\theta\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\acute{\iota}$ ⁶ (30, 53, Buresch 28), and to unfree $\theta\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\acute{\iota}$ in relation to each other (52 ; so also, probably, 56 $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$). It is clearly a correlative term applicable to children brought up together without regard to their legal status.⁷

¹ Cf. $\tau\rho\acute{o}\phi\upsilon\mu\omicron\iota$ $\upsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota$ in MAMA, III, 479c.

² In Egypt $\theta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu\mu\alpha$ is not used of a child ; $\theta\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\theta\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$ and $\theta\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$ are, however, so used (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*).

³ Cf. The scholia on, *Il.*, 4, 478 : $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ $\delta\grave{\epsilon}$ $\theta\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\tau\epsilon\theta\rho\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$.

⁴ For the use of the aorist along with the perfect to express a permanent relationship, cf. Wackernagel, *Stud. zum. gr. Perfektum*, p. 7 ; the noun $\theta\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ is poetical.

⁵ In this inscription ten persons are $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\tau\rho\omicron\phi\omicron\iota$ of the foster-child. If they are children of the $\tau\rho\omicron\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ the size of the family is interesting. It is conceivable either that the $\tau\rho\omicron\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ had fostered children of various families (which is unlikely, in view of the usual relationship between $\tau\rho\omicron\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ and the foster-child's family), or that the $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\tau\rho\omicron\phi\omicron\iota$ are all or in part unfree $\theta\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\acute{\iota}$. One of them bears the same name as the wife of the $\tau\rho\omicron\phi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$, which suggests that she is a daughter ; the $\tau\rho\omicron\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ themselves may of course be unfree. This use of $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\tau\rho\omicron\phi\omicron\varsigma$ is perhaps a source of the medieval use of $\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha$ to mean a lord's "meinie" or "body of dependants" (cf. Dawkins, *Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1925-30, p. 322).

⁶ Cf. the *liberta* and *collocanea* of Dig., 34, 4, 30.

⁷ To this list should perhaps be added $\kappa\acute{o}\mu\beta\omicron\varsigma$ and $\kappa\omicron\mu\beta\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ which M. L. Robert (*Études anatoliennes*, pp. 469 ff.) has suggested may have been equivalent to $\theta\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$. It is possible

It will be seen from this review that, while *θρεπτός* is rarely.¹ if ever, used of the foster-child and *τροφεύς* is confined to the foster-parent,² the terminology in other respects is used without distinction to describe fundamentally different legal relationships. This is clearly due to the natural similarity in the personal relationships which outweighed in ordinary speech the differences in legal status and social position, a fact which is significant of the attitude of the speakers to Imperial law. To distinguish the status of the persons so designated we can use such criteria as their rank, age, and names; where these indications are absent no certainty is possible. On some questions the inscriptions afford us no information and in the following section the evidence of Roman law will be drawn upon to throw further light on the epigraphic documents.

ROMAN LAW AND EASTERN CUSTOM

In a letter to Trajan (X, 65) Pliny raises the question *de conditione et alimentis eorum quos vocant θρεπτούς*, and in his reply

also that some of the hypocoristic terms which appear so commonly as proper names in Asia Minor applied to these relationships. They are commonly taken as Anatolian, but some, if not all, may be Greek, though their wide extension as proper names is perhaps due to their adaptation to a native system of nomenclature. The material has been collected and discussed by Buresch, p. 130; Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, pp. 334 ff.; Sundwall, *Einheimische Namen* (cf. Index s.vv. *Αμα, Απας, Μαμα, Παπα, Τατα*, etc.); Headlam-Knox on Herodas, I, 7 (*ἀμμή*), 60 (*ταταλίζειν*), with the grammatical literature there cited which seems to derive from Aristophanes of Byzantium (add Schwabe, *Aelii Dionysii et Pausaniae atticistarum fragmenta*, pp. 40 ff.; Kuiper, *Stud. Callim.*, I, p. 49). The following usages bear upon our topic. In Pollux, III, 75, *ἀφία, ἀφίον* and *ἀφάριον* are explained as *νέας δεσποίνης ὑποκορίσματα*, that is, as words used by *θρεπτοί* to the daughter of their *θρέβας* (cf. *ἀπφα* used by sisters and brothers, Schwabe, p. 252); in Eustathius, 777, 55, the Homeric *ἄττα* is described as the address of a younger man *ὡς πρὸς τροφέα*; in Hesychius *ἄππας* is explained as *τροφεύς*, and this usage may occur in Paton-Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos*, 352, but the context (*διὰ τοῦ ἄππα καὶ ἐπιτρόπου μου*) does not make the relationship clear and Sundwall (p. 273) seems to take it as foster-child. In *AJA*, IV, 1888, p. 278 = Buresch, p. 129; *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, p. 198, No. 2; Kern, *Inscr. von Magnesia*, 117 = Laum, *Stiftungen*, No. 126 (*ἄππας Διονύσου*, wrongly taken by Laum), it may be a religious title, but the title is perhaps derived from the sense of *τροφεύς* (cf. *ὑπότροφος*, *ib.*). In Latin *anna* (cf. Olcott s.v., with Schwyzer, 5550g, 617g and notes) and *tata* (*CIL*, X, 1949; XIV, 935) are used as correlatives of *alumnus* (cf. Heracus, *Arch. Lat. Lex.*, XIII, 1903, pp. 149 ff.). This evidence, as far as it goes, illustrates once more the point that the terminology used in describing the different relationships is determined by their natural similarity rather than by legal conceptions. [For *ῥμογάλακτες* (= *σύντροφοι*?) v. Busolt-Swoboda), *op. cit.*, p. 772, n. 1.]

¹ Its absence in this sense may be accidental; there are possible instances in Buresch, 39, and *IG*, XII, 5, 171 (cf. p. 30). For *alumnus* so used see Vergil, *Aeneid*, XI, 33.

² In classical Greek, however, *τροφεύς* is used both of foster-parent and of adoptive parent; contrast Euripides, *Electra*, 16, and *Phoenissae*, 45.

Trajan describes them as *liberi nati expositi deinde sublati a quibusdam et in servitute educati*. The terms of the letter show that in Bithynia Pliny had to deal with a custom which was unfamiliar to him and which had not been clearly dealt with either by special regulation for Bithynia or by a general rule of Roman law. The previous decisions to which he alludes have reference to Greece and Asia, and this suggests that provincial custom in the East tended to be in conflict with Imperial law on the question of the status of the exposed free child. This question had no doubt already arisen, at least in isolated cases ¹ (*Dig.*, 40, 4, 29), and it is somewhat surprising that there was no established regulation in Bithynia by this date. It is possible that the problem had become acute owing to economic distress and a consequent increase in the practice of exposure, but provincial custom may have been winked at by previous governors, and it was probably increasing familiarity with Roman law that was now leading to disputes.

In his reply Trajan lays down for Bithynia the strict principle that a freeborn child cannot lose its status by being exposed, and that its vindication can be subject to no condition such as payment for its upbringing.² The way in which he introduces his decision seems to imply that in other provinces the principle had already been departed from by special regulations admitting the practice which he rejects for Bithynia, namely, the refusal of *adsertio* and the payment of *alimenta*. The procedure here is a good example of the way in which the Roman government applied the rules of Roman law to the provinces when opportunity offered.

From the evidence of the inscriptions it is clear that, though Pliny uses the term *θρεπτός* without qualification, the freeborn foundlings are only a special class of *θρεπτοί*, a class of interest to Roman law because of the question of status. Epigraphic evidence can rarely throw light on the origin of *θρεπτοί*, but they were certainly not all foundlings, nor, of course, were all foundlings of free birth.³

¹ Cf. the case of G. Melissus (Suet., *de ill. gramm.*, 21) who is said to have been *natus ingenuus*, but, *quamquam asserente matre, permansit tamen in statu servitutis*. The principle *natalibus non officere manumissionem* (Just., *Inst.*, 1, 4) would apply to exposed children of free birth.

² For the whole subject see Mommsen, "Bürgerlicher und peregrinischer Freiheitsschutz im römischen Staat" in *Ges. Schriften*, III, p. 1; Mitteis, *op. cit.*, p. 358 f.

³ Cf. Dio Chrys., XV, 8; *Cod. Just.*, 8, 51, 1.

The problem raised by Pliny continued to exercise the law, and the history of the question illustrates the way in which Roman principles were gradually modified under the pressure of provincial custom. The question of *alimenta* is referred to in *Cod. Just.*, 5, 4, 16: *patrem qui filiam exposuit at nunc adultam sumptibus et labore tuo factam matrimonio coniungi filio desiderantis favere voto convenit, qui si renitatur alimentorum solutioni in hoc solummodo casu*¹ *parere debet.* The rescript is from Diocletian, and the name of the addressee Rhodon makes it possible that the question was raised in the East. The decision is a departure from principle for the special case. The natural father was claiming to exercise his rights in a way repugnant to general feeling, and Diocletian commands that, if he does so, he must pay the *alimenta*. The implication is that the strict terms of Roman law are still in force. The child had apparently been brought up free,² and the insistence on *alimenta* is not to compensate for loss of a slave,³ but to deter the parent from exercising his legal rights. This contrast between opinion and the law is illustrated by a passage in pseudo-Quintilian (*Declam.*, 278) where the upbringer replies to the natural parent who is reclaiming a son "*accipere illum nisi solutis alimentis non potuisti.*" This may be, as Mommsen held, an imaginary legal detail such as is found in these rhetorical exercises, but it would hardly have been used if the idea had not been familiar.⁴

A significant change appears in the legislation of Constantine⁵ which permits a man who has collected a child exposed with its father's or owner's knowledge to keep it either as a slave or as his own child without fear of any claim. This law also has special reference to the East; Ablabius, the addressee, was at the time Praefectus Praetorio Orientis (Seeck, *Regesten*, p. 145). Instead of maintaining that the rights of the parent and child cannot be de-

¹ It has been suggested that the words *in hoc solummodo casu* are a gloss. The question hardly affects the argument in general.

² Cf. p. 37, n. 3; for free *alumni* see *Thesaurus*, col. 1795; *Dig.*, 21, 1, 10; *Cod. Just.*, 5, 14, 1 = 11, 3, 10, where an *alumna* is given a dowry. But the *alumnus* was generally a slave, cf. *Dig.*, 40, 11, 14; Suet., *de ill. gramm.*, 7, 21.

³ By a constitution of Alexander (*Cod. Just.*, 8, 51, 1) a master may reclaim a slave-woman's child exposed without his knowledge or against his will, but only on payment of moneys expended in nurturing it or teaching it a trade.

⁴ Vindication *solutis alimentis* appears also in Seneca, *Controversiae*, IX, 3, 26, and Quintilian, *Inst.*, VII, 1, 14. The motif may be from Greek models.

⁵ *Cod. Theod.*, *de expos.*, 5, 9 (A.D. 331).

stroyed, the law now yields to opinion to such an extent that the rights of the upbringer are fully recognized and the child cannot be reclaimed even on payment of *alimenta*. It also takes the important step of recognizing the right of the upbringer to determine the status of the child. In this change may be discerned not only the influence of popular custom but also that of Christianity which took an unfavourable view of exposure, though it accommodated itself to it in practice. The interest of the Church appears in *Cod. Theod.*, 5, 9, 2, where Honorius and Theodosius again prohibit vindication provided an ecclesiastical witness certifies that the child was really rescued from exposure. Finally, in the time of Justinian, the fact of exposure, in itself, confers the status of free birth (*Nov.*, 153).¹

Another instance of the failure of Roman law to root out provincial custom bears upon our topic. It was the rule of the classical law that a child could not be sold into slavery by its parents, but here also concessions had to be made, and in A.D. 313 the sale of *sanguinolenti* was explicitly recognized.² The custom seems to have been inveterate in the eastern provinces³ and must also have contributed to the supply of unfree *θρεπτοί*. The sale of newly born children may be regarded as an alternative to exposure which was resorted to where there was a market for this class of slave.

A further case of conflict is to be seen in the custom of marriage between *θρεπτοί* and *alumni* and the children of their *θρέψαντες*. In the discussion of the example given above (No. 29), it was suggested that the marriage of the *θρεπτός* with the daughter was based on Greek usage. The *θρεπτός* in this case, whatever his origin, was presumably a freeman, a case which we have seen allowed for in the legislation of Constantine. A similar case of marriage between an *alumna* and the son of her upbringer is dealt with in the

¹ The extent of the victory gained by popular custom in regard to the disposal of children in spite of the law and the Church is shown by the survival of exposure in a disguised form in certain countries where parents enjoy the right of abandoning their child to public or ecclesiastical charity. Cf. Cabrol, *Dict. d'Arch. chr. et de Lit.*, s.v. *Alumni*, and the interesting article "Findelfürsorge" in Conrad's *Handbuch der Staatswissenschaft*.

² *Vat. Fr.*, 34. The subject has been treated by Buckland, *Roman Law of Slavery*, p. 420 f.; Mitteis, *op. cit.*, pp. 358 ff.; Taubenschlag, *Savigny-Ztschr.*, XXXVII, 1916, p. 217; L, 1930, p. 146. According to Aelian, *V.H.*, 2, 7, the sale of children was compulsory in Thebes (date ?) as an alternative to exposure; the law is accepted by Westermann, *RE*, Suppl. VI, col. 902, but may well be fictitious.

³ Cf. the striking passage of Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.*, 8, 7, 2.

rescript of Diocletian quoted above (p. 50). It is probable that marriage in these circumstances was repugnant to the earlier law which prohibited the marriage of an adopted son with the daughter of the house and the marriage of step-brothers and step-sisters.¹ It is true that we have no definite evidence of the legal status of a *θρεπτός* brought up as a freeman,² but it seems likely that he would be regarded as an adoptive son.³

The evidence of Roman law adds something to our knowledge of the origin of the *θρεπτοί*, on which the inscriptions can rarely throw much light. Trajan's letter proves that the term might be applied to exposed children of free birth reared as slaves by their rescuers, and the history of the law along with evidence from Egypt shows that the rescue of such children must have been a regular source of supply for the slave market. It seems probable also that the children sold as *sanguinolenti* would not differ in status from exposed children and would also therefore be designated as *θρεπτοί*. It is certain, however, from the inscriptions that not all *θρεπτοί* were foundlings, and general probability and the analogy of Egypt⁴ suggest that the majority were the offspring of female slaves, either as children of a slave family or as the product of a liaison between master and slave.

The *θρεπτοί* of Asia Minor would thus in large part correspond to the *οικογενεῖς* of Egypt, and Greek grammatical tradition suggests that the two words had in fact a similar usage.⁵ According to Phrynichus (Lobeck, pp. 201 ff.) *οἰκότριψ* is the Attic for *οικογενής*,

¹ Buckland, *A Text-book of Roman Law*, p. 116. The eastern custom is strikingly illustrated in the book of Esther, 2, 7; Esther is a *παῖς θρεπτή* brought up by her cousin to be his wife.

² The language of Constantine is *sive filium sive servum eum esse maluerit*. In Egypt adoption of a foundling is mentioned in *P. Gnom.*, 41; cf. Maroi in *Raccolta Lombroso*, p. 377, and Carcopino in *Mém. de la Soc. nat. des Antiquaires*, vii, 1924-27, p. 59.

³ The dubiety with regard to the status of *alumni* even when brought up in slavery is well illustrated in *Cod. Just.*, 5, 4, 26, which raises the question whether marriage with a manumitted *alumna* is incestuous. Cf. *P. Gnom.*, 23 (Uxkull-Gyllenband, p. 38). The contrast between the strict Roman and this provincial type of adoption is paralleled in India where the strict Brahmanical form of adoption has to compete in the lower castes with "a looser tie of mere Fosterage" (West and Bühler, *A Digest of Hindu Law*, Index, s.v. Foster Son).

⁴ Cf. Taubenschlag, *Savigny-Ztschr.*, L, 1930, pp. 143 ff.; *RE*, Suppl. VI, col. 1060.

⁵ Cf. Beauchet, *Droit priv.*, II, p. 404; Herwerden, *Lex. gr. supp.*, s.v.; P. M. Meyer, *Archiv*, III, p. 89, n. 5.

and οικότριψ itself is explained by Ammon., *Diff.*, p. 101, as ὁ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ διατρεφόμενος ὃν ἡμεῖς θρεπτὸν καλοῦμεν in contrast to οἰκέτης which is ὁ δοῦλος ὁ ὠνητός. The usage of the words, however, though similar is not identical. Οἰκογενής is a legal and official designation the use of which rests on the old Greek custom¹ of indicating the γένος and method of acquisition in legal transactions concerning slaves. The main distinction was that between οἰκογενεῖς and χρυσώνητοι, who were naturally in the main foreign, but slaves are sometimes designated as inherited,² and in Egypt there was also a special designation for the foundling (ἀναίρετος). That the terminology in Egypt was more exact may have been due to a more strict fiscal control of the slave trade. The word οἰκογενής thus denotes not merely the relation of the slave to the master in whose house he is born, but a permanent quality which attaches to him as a native-born slave as long as he is not sold out of his native territory. This appears clearly from the manumission documents from Delphi where οἰκογενής is the designation of the γένος of the slave. The word θρεπτός on the other hand is a correlative term; it applies to the slave not as a legal description, though it might serve that purpose, but only in relation to the θρέψαντες. It is thus not tautologous to describe a θρεπτός as οἰκογενής (p. 42). Θρεπτός is also, as we saw, less specific in meaning; it denotes a child reared from infancy, and probably, though evidence here is lacking, was applied to the purchased child as well as to the slave born in the household or rescued from exposure. In the case of such children the exact method of acquisition may have been regarded as indifferent outside of Egypt, but the widespread use of θρεπτός in Asia as opposed to the use of οἰκογενής in Egypt is perhaps due to the difference in the nature of the documents from which our information is drawn; in Egypt they are mainly legal, in Asia they are not. Even if the use of the word θρεπτός with its different associations does reflect a rather more favourable position of such slaves in Asia, it must be remembered that it is the quasi-filial relationship of the θρεπτοί to their master that accounts for their frequent mention, and that δοῦλοι in a more unfavourable position have naturally left comparatively fewer

¹ Cf. Weiss, *Savigny-Ztschr.*, XXXVII, 1916, p. 162; Mitteis, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

² Weiss, *loc. cit.*, n. 2.

traces. We cannot therefore draw any safe conclusions as to the numbers of the *θρεπτοί* in relation to the whole slave population.

The history of Roman law in relation to the exposed child makes it probable that, while the earlier law had had little occasion to deal with the status of the *θρεπτοί*, the customary usage of the provincials was based on a deeply rooted tradition of their own, but the fact that our evidence has been of the Roman period and that the *alumni* are a numerous class in the Western Empire may make us hesitate in assuming without argument that the type of slavery under discussion is a specially eastern institution and of ancient origin in the eastern provinces. There are, however, other indications that this conclusion is correct.

The various relationships which we saw reflected in the inscriptions of the Roman period are to be found already in Homer, although the terms which we discussed are absent. Phoenix¹ is the "*τροφεύς*" of Achilles and Patroclus² his "*σύντροφος*"; his son is being reared in Scyros.³ Among the gods Athena is the "*θρέψασα*" of Erechtheus⁴ and Oceanus and Tethys are the "*τροφεῖς*" of Hera,⁵ who in her turn is "*θρέψασα*" of Thetis.⁶ The "*θρεπτός*" may be a grandchild⁷ or a bastard⁸ or, as in the important case of Eumaeus,⁹ a slave who is brought up with his master's child as a "*σύντροφος*." These examples show that to Homer the foster-child and the slave "*θρεπτός*" were familiar, and an examination of his usage of the verb *τρέφειν* will show that in the filial relationship the tie created by upbringing was felt to be distinct from but as important as that of birth. This fact is in keeping with what is known of the Greek attitude in later times.

There is a long interval before information again becomes available, but, such as it is, it supports our argument. There is evidence for the exposure of children¹⁰ at an early date in Greece, and, though we do not know how far the slave population was recruited from this source, it is likely, in view of evidence to be produced later, that some exposed children were rescued and that legal questions concerning them had already arisen before the

¹ *I*, 485 ff.

² *Ψ*, 82 ff.

³ *T*, 326.

⁴ *B*, 547 f.

⁵ *Ξ*, 202.

⁶ *Ω*, 59 f.

⁷ *A*, 221 ff.; *Π*, 191.

⁸ *E*, 70 f.

⁹ *ο*, 361 ff.

¹⁰ Westermann, *RE*, Suppl. VI, col. 902 f.

Hellenistic period. The word *θρεπτός* is comparatively late and rare in the manumission inscriptions of Greece, but it occurs where no Roman influence need be suspected,¹ and in literature it is authenticated as early as Pherecrates and Lysias (*ap. Poll.*, 7, 17). The usage is probably implied also in [Demosthenes] *lix*, where there is a vivid picture of the career of a girl reared by a bawd who was *δεινὴ φύσιν μικρῶν παιδίων συνιδεῖν εὐπρεπῇ καὶ ταῦτα ἐπισταμένη θρέψαι καὶ παιδεῦσαι ἐμπείρως*. The nature of the relationship is illustrated by the fact that the "*θρέψασα*" was able to pass off the seven "*θρεπταί*" whom she had acquired *ἐκ μικρῶν παιδίων* as her own daughters. At a later date in the fifth mime of Herodas there is a pretty picture of the "*θρεπτῇ*" who is loved like a daughter by her *θρέψασα* (83), calls her *τατί* (69), and saves a fellow-slave from a beating. Apart from occasional literary references there are indications that in the Hellenistic kingdoms there was a class of persons corresponding to the *θρεπτοί* of Roman Asia. In Ptolemaic Egypt² the *οἰκογενεῖς* formed a special class (*οἰκογένεια*) of which an official record was kept, and the institution continued into the Roman period. In Pergamon³ *θρεπτοί* were admitted to the class of *πάροικοι* (?) on the occasion of a general improvement in the status of non-citizens. Only *βασιλικοί* and *δημόσιοι* are mentioned in the official decree,⁴ but, except for one *θρεπτός γυμνασίου*, the *θρεπτοί* raised in status appear to be in private ownership, so that, unless they come under the class of *οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων*,⁵ it may be supposed that the grant of improved status was extended to them as a favoured class of slaves.

It seems probable, moreover, that the legal questions connected with *alimenta* are of Hellenistic origin. The word is commonly used in the papyri to denote the payment made to a woman for nursing a child, whether slave or free, in terms of a contract, but in Rubensohn, *P. Eleph.*, III and IV (284/3 B.C.), it is used in a rather different context. There a woman, Elaphion, who appears as

¹ E.g. *GDI*, 1523 (Daulis); *SIG*, 1207 (Chaeronea).

² Cf. *P. Harr.*, 61; Schubart in *Raccolta Lumbroso*, pp. 49 ff.; Uxkull-Gyllenband, *P. Gnom.*, pp. 66 ff.

³ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVII, 1902, p. 125, No. 143.

⁴ *OGI*, 338.

⁵ For a possible difference between *ἐξελεύθερος* and *ἀπελεύθερος*, see Busolt, *Gr. Staatsk.*, I, p. 288, n. 1.

legally free, is found paying to two different men in the same year a sum of money as *τροφεΐα* with the condition *μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ Ἀντιπάτρῳ* (*Παντάρκει*) *ἐπελθεῖν ἐπ' Ἐλάφιον εἰσπράττοντι τροφεΐα ἢ καταδουλούμενον παρευρέσει μηδεμίᾳ*. It is clear, as the editor points out, that Elaphion is a hetaera who passes from hand to hand for a consideration euphemistically termed *τροφεΐα* and that, though legally free, she is in some danger of being treated as a slave. In the Roman period very similar language is used in receipts for nursing expenses (*BGU*, 1111 and 1112) which contain a clause forbidding any claim on the nursling (*μηδὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ δουλικὸν σωματίον ἐπελεύσεσθαι*). These examples show that in the eyes of the parties concerned a claim for *τροφεΐα* could be the basis of a claim on the person who had been maintained, and that in the case of a free person such as Elaphion the claim could involve an alteration of her status. Though the cases are not precisely identical with those dealt with by Pliny and Trajan, they are close enough to show the Hellenistic¹ origin of the provincial view that payment of *alimenta* was necessary before a child could be vindicated, and that upbringing by persons other than its parents could alter the status of a free child. The right of the upbringing could also be exercised to confer freedom on an exposed child; the evidence for the adoption of foundlings² in Egypt belongs, it is true, to Roman times, but we should hardly be wrong in assuming the custom for the Hellenistic period. This attitude on the relation of *alimenta* and the exercise of parental rights conforms to what is known of the relations between parent and child in Egypt. Whether it was guaranteed by law or not the right of the child to appropriate *τροφεΐα* was recognized by public opinion,³ and as exposure of a child was a refusal of this duty on the part of the parent it was naturally held to destroy the corresponding rights.

It seems certain, then, that the *θρεπτοί* and the legal problem connected with the traffic in children were familiar in the Hellenistic world before Roman influence comes into play, and that the

¹ For the conception of *τροφεΐα* as an element in the relation of master and slave at an earlier period, cf. Euripides, *Ion*, 852.

² Cf. p. 52, n. 2; upbringing in slavery must have been more frequent; cf. *RE*, Suppl. VI, col. 997.

³ Cf. Taubenschlag, *Savigny-Ztschr.*, XXXVII, 1916, p. 189 f. The slave also had a certain recognized right to his *τροφή*, *RE*, Suppl. VI, col. 1048.

alumni are to be taken as illustrating the influence of Greek custom in the West, an influence which was early and strong among the lower classes of society. The scarcity of evidence makes it difficult to decide how far Hellenistic usage in Egypt and Asia may have been influenced in its turn by that of the native populations, but there are traces in Babylonian legal documents of customs so similar that they inevitably raise the question of historical connexion between Greek and eastern institutions. It appears that in Babylonia ¹ a child rescued from exposure ² might be brought up either in freedom or in slavery. As in Rome, the parents had at one time a right of vindication,³ and injustice arising from this right was mitigated, as in Roman law, by the prohibition of the claim when a child had been adopted and reared to maturity.⁴ The adoption in this case is clearly not entered into with the consent of the parents and seems therefore to be the adoption of a foundling. It is clear, then, that a foundling may be brought up as a slave, or as an adopted child,⁵ or the relationship may be a kind of "Pflegschaftsverhältnis" not involving recognition of the child as a son.

It is possible to determine more closely the nature of this relationship by reference to the numerous documents relating to adoption. It has been observed that they fall into two groups ; in one the adoption is accompanied by the institution of the child as heir,⁶ in the other a payment is made to the child's parents to compensate them for the child's upbringing, and no right of inheritance is guaranteed. Adoptions of this kind are confined to women and a class of freemen of inferior status. The economic aspect of this relationship is so prominent that Koschaker refuses

¹ This sketch is based on David, *Die Adoption im altbabylonischen Recht*; San Nicolò, *Savigny-Ztschr.*, L, 1930, pp. 445 ff.

² The Sumerian and Babylonian languages had terms for foundling which seem to be equivalent to *kompaipetos* (*P. Gnom.*, 92); cf. San Nicolò, *loc. cit.*, p. 450.

³ David, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁴ Hammurabi, § 185; the language recalls that of *Cod. Theod.*, 5, 9 (cf. p. 50, n. 5); cf. San Nicolò, *loc. cit.*, p. 452.

⁵ Cf. p. 52, n. 2, for the adoption of a foundling in Roman Egypt.

⁶ In Babylonian, as in Greek law, *vioteta* implied principally the instituting of the child as heir and not the acquisition of *patria potestas*. It is the same feature that is stressed in certain Egyptian documents (cf. Mitteis, *Grundz.*, p. 275, and No. 363; Meyer, *Jur. Pap.*, p. 22; Mitteis, *Archiv*, III, p. 183; Eger, *Zeits. f. d. neut. Wiss.*, XVIII, 1917-18, pp. 84 ff.; Uxkull-Gyllenband, *P. Gnom.*, p. 56).

to regard it as adoption at all, and considers it also merely a "Pflegschaftsverhältnis" entered on not to carry on the family but with a view to profit.¹ Adoptions of this kind have, in fact, a close resemblance to a sale of the child by its parents. The child so adopted is in the position of the foundling child; it passes into the power of the adopter, and, as it has no right of inheritance, is really in a state of bondage. In support of this view is the fact that in other cases also the form of adoption is used as a fiction to cover transactions of an essentially different nature.²

The economic aspect of this spurious adoption is particularly clear where an artisan adopts a child to teach it his trade. In this case also the code of Hammurabi³ prohibits vindication except when the child has not actually been instructed in the trade. The relationship in this case recalls that which appears in certain Latin inscriptions⁴ and which is implied in *Cod. Just.*, 8, 51, 1 (cf. p. 50, n. 3), where it is laid down that the master who reclaims the child of a slave exposed without his consent must pay *si qua in alendo eo vel forte ad discendum artificium iuste consumpta fuerint*. We have no explicit evidence of such a relationship in the Greek inscriptions, but it is possible that the much-discussed *θρεμματική ἐργασία* of Hierapolis⁵ was an association of such apprentice *θρεπτοί* parallel to that of their masters.

That quasi-adoption was frequently entered into by women is a trait which is in keeping with the usage which we have seen in the Roman period. In the inscriptions women are frequently mentioned in relation to *θρεπτοί*, and in Roman law (*Dig.*, 40, 11, 14) we find the maxim, *alumnos magis mulieribus conveniens est manumittere*. The rearing of young children was a branch of industry that would naturally fall to women.⁶

¹ Koschaker in Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, s.v. Adoption.

² Koschaker, *Abh. der sächs. Ak. der Wiss.*, XXXIX, 1928, pp. 52-56.

³ §§ 188-189; cf. David, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁴ E.g. *CIL*, XII, 725: *Iulius Hermes alumnus Dionysi medici*; Ruggiero, *Diz. Ep.*, s.v., *alumnus*, p. 440.

⁵ Ramsay, *C.B.*, I, p. 118, No. 28 (cf. II, p. 545, No. 412 and commentary). The interpretation given is that of Judeich, *Jahrb. des k. d. archäol. Inst., Ergänzungsh.*, IV, p. 143.

⁶ Adoption by a hierodule may have had other reasons (David, *op. cit.*, p. 14); cf. fostering by Indian temple dancers (West and Bühler, *A Digest of the Hindu Law*, II, p. 925c). Was the custom found in the hierodulic societies of Asia Minor?

The sale ¹ of children may also have been possible in Babylonia, but it was doubtless rendered less necessary by the fiction of adoption. The contracts of adoption bear a distinct resemblance to contracts of sale, though the money paid is in theory compensation for the cost of the child's upbringing.²

This brief outline is enough to show the marked resemblance between the customs of Babylonia and those of the eastern Roman Empire. In both there is a traffic in exposed children and there are traces of the sale of children ; in both the problem of vindication arises, and with it the question of *alimenta* ; in both, finally, the status of such children varies between slavery and freedom. It is true that as a legal fiction adoption is a Babylonian custom, but among *peregrini* of the lower classes the relationship between *θρέψας* and *θρεπτός* may often have been similar.³

The conclusion to be drawn from these resemblances is uncertain. We have seen that the customs of the Roman provincials can be dated back to the Hellenistic period, and the Babylonian usage in regard to foundlings persisted with almost identical legal formulae from the third millennium B.C. till at least the end of the sixth century,⁴ so that no very serious chronological difficulty stands in the way of assuming historical connexion. We do not know, however, whether similar customs prevailed in pre-Greek Asia Minor. In dealing with the religious cults of Anatolia,⁵ it is possible to distinguish different strata and to arrive at some conception of an early element underlying what has been contributed by Persian, Greek and Roman, but in the sphere of social and religious institutions such distinctions are less easy. Geographical contiguity and historical relations with Babylonia, both at an earlier period and under the Persian Empire, make it natural to suppose some mutual influence in social organization, but all that

¹ David, *op. cit.*, p. 23, n. 59, and p. 70.

² Cf. Kohler-Ungnad, *Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden*, p. 85, and Nos. 66, 73, 76. Sale was known among the Jews and their neighbours (Leviticus xxv, 45 ; Exodus i, 22, and xxi, 17 ; Nehemiah v, 5).

³ For a quasi-filial relationship of unfree persons, see Calderini, *La Manomissione*, p. 293.

⁴ See the document quoted by San Nicolò, *loc. cit.*, p. 448 f. The old terminology still survived in the Moslem period in Persia (Sachau, *Syrische Rechtsbücher*, III (Jesubocht), p. 115.

⁵ Cf. Keil in *Anatolian Studies*, Ramsay, pp. 241 ff.

can be safely said is that the evidence for the Hittite ¹ period and the survival of the hierodulic system on a large scale along with what is known of the attitude of the natives suggest that a comparatively mild type of slavery existed in the country. Not only is definite information ² on pre-Greek custom in Anatolia lacking, but the evidence in Homer seems to exclude the simple hypothesis of adoption of native custom by the Greeks in the Hellenistic period and suggests that Greek usage had developed independently before being transplanted to a favourable soil in Asia and Egypt. It might be argued that there was no historical connexion between the phenomena in Babylonia and in Greece, and that the similarity is due simply to parallel development in similar circumstances. This view might be reinforced by consideration of the fact that a traffic in children very similar to that described here exists to-day in certain eastern countries,³ and in Hong-Kong and Ceylon has raised for the British administration difficulties of the same kind as those that met the Roman government in the eastern provinces. There remains, however, the possibility that the similarity between Greek and Babylonian custom is due to an earlier uniformity of usage over the whole eastern Mediterranean area. It has often been remarked that Greek slavery is more akin to that of the East than to that of Rome, and this difference may be due to the influence of earlier peoples. The comparatively favourable position of the unfree population in Gortyn, for example, may be in part an inheritance from earlier law as well as a result of the conquest of a native population. In this matter certainty is hardly possible, but some features of mythology and religion suggest that the social customs which we noted in Homer date from a very early period.

¹ Cf. Götz, *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients, Kleinasien*, p. 99.

² See above, however, p. 47, n. 7. Sappho (cf. p. 35) had relations with Lydia.

³ The children are conveyed by sale (sometimes with a clause admitting redemption on payment of *alimenta*) or by a quasi-adoption. *The Times* newspaper (March 6, 1930) reports Lord Passfield as speaking of "the traditional practice, which had long existed in well-to-do Ceylonese households of adopting the children of poor parents and bringing them up as companions of the children of the house or employing them as domestic servants" (i.e. as *σύντροφοι* and *θρεπτοί*). Cf. K. Simon, *Slavery* (People's Library Edition), pp. 104 ff., on the *Mui Tsai* system in China, and pp. 274 ff., on child slavery in China and Ceylon; Lt.-Comm. and Mrs. H. L. Haslewood, *Child Slavery in Hong-kong*. Some connexion between the customs of the modern Far East, and those of the ancient world is not wholly impossible; cf., for example, Heichelheim, *Economic History*, III, 13, 1938, pp. 1 ff.

In the Near East the religious conceptions of a female deity as nurse or foster-mother and of a divine child brought up by human or animal foster-parents is widespread.¹ It is true that the female deity is in historical times generally known as the mother (μήτηρ), but she is thought of rather as the nurse and upbringer of all young creatures. The emphasis on this latter aspect might well arise among people who were familiar with the upbringing of children by persons not their own parents and to whom therefore parent and upbringer were not identical terms. Similarly, the rearing of the divine child by a τροφός or τροφεύς is a conception which may be based on social custom, even if it has some symbolic significance such as Nilsson suggests. The motif of the exposed child reared by its rescuers is also familiar in Greek mythology; from mythology it passes to tragedy, from tragedy to comedy, and thence through rhetorical declamations, romances, and lives of the saints to modern literature. In other lands of the Near and Middle East the same theme appears in the stories of Sargon,² Moses and Cyrus, though this last may have been influenced by Greek tradition. It seems reasonable to conclude that both the religious conception and the mythological themes have been influenced by the customs of everyday life. It is true that a literary motif, once created, has a kind of autonomous life of its own, and there were special reasons for the popularity of the foundling theme. It supplied the dramatic elements of ἀναγνώρισις and περιπέτεια which were so useful to any good story, and particularly to tragedy and comedy; in comedy, in addition, it enabled the writers to introduce a romantic love theme without violating social convention. No doubt, therefore, the theme might remain popular in certain places where it had ceased to have much relation to life or even gain popularity where it had never had any such relation, but it could hardly have arisen except in societies which knew the custom. The close dependence of the literary treatment on real life may be illustrated by the story of Moses. The method of his exposure is in keeping with a well-known usage³; that his sister was present to watch his fate is a

¹ Cf. Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, c. 16.

² Cf. L. W. King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, II, p. 87.

³ Cf. David, *op. cit.*, p. 16, n. 34; Perdrizet, *Rev. Ét. anc.*, 1921, pp. 90 ff.

characteristic detail¹; the rescue by a woman is no accident²; the payment of a nurse to rear him is true to Egyptian life³; his status is not precise, he may be a slave but he enjoys a privileged position as a quasi-adoptive son in the royal house. In other words, Moses is a *θρεπτός* of the most favoured type.

It would be rash to insist on the relation between social institutions and religious conceptions to the extent of arguing from the latter to the former in the absence of external evidence, but where, as in this case, some such evidence does exist the religious conceptions and the mythological motifs may perhaps be fairly used to prove the existence at an earlier date of customs historically authenticated only at a later period. If the basis of Greek mythology in this respect, as in some others, is Minoan and Mycenaean⁴ we should be justified in concluding that the customs of fosterage, exposure of children, and the rescue of foundlings were known in the Aegean area as well as further east in the second millennium B.C. It follows that, though the Greeks may have found usages similar to their own in the lands in which they settled, their customs in regard to the *θρεπτοί* need not be regarded as borrowed from the native populations. The uniformity which we have seen, in spite of some difference of terminology, in the provincial usage of Asia Minor, Egypt, and Syria as opposed to Roman law is due to the common inheritance of Greek law established in these lands by the Greek colonists of the Hellenistic period and retained tenaciously by their successors. The strength of this tradition is well illustrated by the history of the customs which have been dealt with in this paper; not only did they maintain themselves in the eastern provinces after centuries of Roman rule but they contributed, in the favourable circumstances created by political and economic changes in the Roman Empire, to the social development of the ancient world as a whole.

¹ The problem of vindication in Babylonian and Roman law as well as the literary sources suggests that the parents or other unscrupulous persons might watch the fate of an exposed child with a view to future profit. In real life *ἀναγνώρισις* was probably not as a rule a happy event.

² Cf. p. 58.

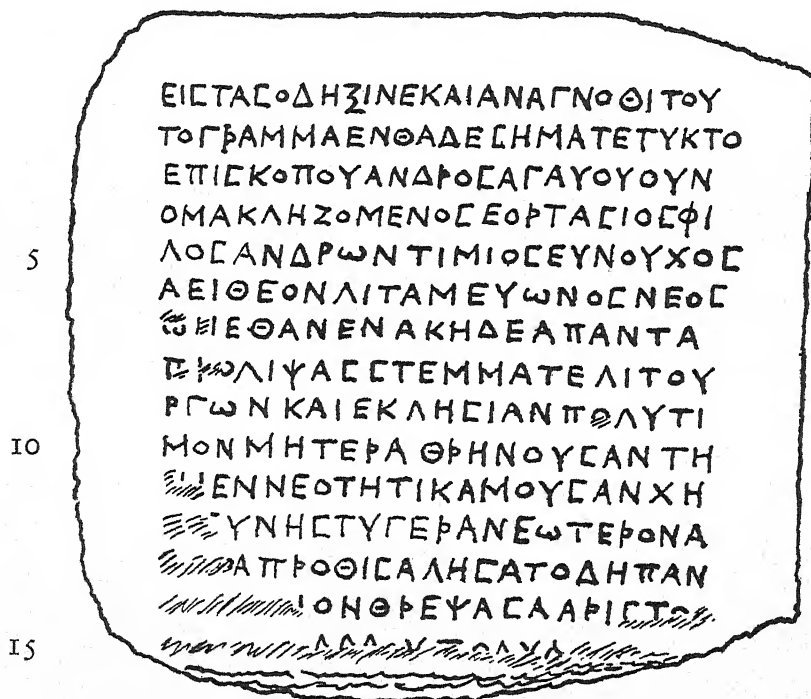
³ For the nurse in Egypt, cf. Erman-Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 191, n. 4; Wilhelm, *Glotta*, XVI, 1928, p. 274; P. M. Meyer, *Jur. Pap.*, pp. 134 ff.; Taubenschlag, *Savigny-Ztschr.*, L, 1930, p. 152. For a legal dispute arising out of a contract to nurse a foundling, see *P. Oxy.*, 37 and 38; a similar contract is implied in *Cod. Just.*, 6, 2, 16: *si servum vestrum nutriendum qui suscepit venundedit furtum commisit*.

⁴ Cf. Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*.

BISHOP HEORTASIUS OF APPIA

by C. W. M. Cox

THE following epitaph was found in 1926 by Professor Cameron and myself at a house in the village of Keçiler, on the northern foothills of Murad Dağ (the Phrygian Dindymus) and some miles S.S.W. of Abia village, formerly the city of Appia. The stone was



said to have been brought from Abia, where it had been in the house of Berberoğlu Ali Osman. The text has been referred to by Professor Calder in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XIII, 1929, p. 269, Cox No. 5.

The epitaph is cut on a thin marble slab, broken off below. Height, 0·46 m.; width, 0·475 m.; thickness, 0·08 m.; letters, 0·015 m. to 0·0225 m.

- Εἰστασο δὴ, ξῖνε, καὶ ἀνάγνωθι τοῦτο γράμμα.
 ἐνθάδε σῆμα τέτυκτο | ἐπισκόπου ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ, |
 5 οὖνομα κληζόμενος Ἑορτάσιος, φίλος ἀνδρῶν,
 τίμιος εὐνοῦχος, | αἰὲν Θεὸν λιτα(ν)εύων,
 δς νέος | ὃν ἔθανεν ἀκηδέα πάντα | προλίψας
 10 στέμμα τε λιτου|ργῶν καὶ ἐκκλησίαν πολύτιμον.
 μητέρα θρηνοῦσαν τῇ | ἐν νεότητι καμοῦσαν
 χη|[ροσ]ύνη στυγερά νεώτερον ἅ|[νδρ]α προθίσα
 λήσατο δὴ πάν|[των ν]ῖδον θρέψασα ἄριστο[ν],||
 15 [εὐδοκί]α λα[ο]ῦ πολὺν φ[έρτατον] | - - -

Ll. 1-2. The versification is rough, but τοῦτο τὸ γράμμα may have been in the copy given to the engraver and τό lost by haplography.

L. 6. M cut for N in λιτα(ν)εύων.

Ll. 8-9. Even though στέμμα λιτουργῶν might be found with the meaning of στέμμα λιτουργικόν, the interpretation "bishop's mitre" is unsupported and barely tenable. στέμμα has surely here the sense of *ordo*; the bishop has deserted his clergy and his church. For στέμμα as "guild," cf. *CIG*, 3995b (Iconium) and *SEG*, III, 499 (Philippi); Herwerden on *CIG*, 4705, and *Fayum Papyri* 87, 1, 9, following Grenfell and Hunt, states that στέμμα is "*accipiendum de ordine sive familia*" (*Lexicon Suppl. et Dial.*). Cf. also the apparently Jewish *πρ(εσβύτερος) κὲ πατὴρ τοῦ στέματος* of *CIG*, 9897 (Smyrna).¹

Ll. 10 ff. The punctuation is difficult. The accusative *μητέρα* suggests that this is a further object of *προλίψας*, with a connective omitted. At the same time, the immediate introduction of *τὴν ἐν νεότητι καμοῦσαν* suggests the opening of a new topic and this, with the absence of a conjunction, may indicate a confusion of cases by a composer who has already brought the nominatives of ll. 4-6 into apposition to the genitives of l. 3. A stop after *πολύτιμον*, rather than *καμοῦσαν*, may therefore be preferred. The bishop died young: "his lamenting mother, who had suffered in her youth the sorrow of placing her young husband on his bier in bitter bereavement, had forgotten all her troubles in bringing up such an excellent son"; or, if we take *πάντων* with *ἄριστον*, "had forgotten these troubles." The virtue of her son was a consolation to the widow for the loss of her husband.

¹ The meaning of *πατὴρ τοῦ στέματος* appears from the parallel titles *πατὴρ τῆς ἱερᾶς τάξεως* and *πατὴρ ὀργεωνικῆς συνόδου*, for which see Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, p. 56.

L. 12. νεώτερον: probably no more than "young."

L. 15. The restoration suggested (due to J. Keil) fits the traces.

The interest of the inscription lies of course in the description of this Bishop of Appia as τίμιος εὐνοῦχος. Had Heortasius, like Origen, acted upon a literal interpretation of the passage in Matthew (19, 12), καὶ εἰσιν εὐνοῦχοι οἵτινες εὐνούχισαν ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν? And if so, is the inscription to be classed as heretical?

The lettering and style of the epitaph suggest to me a fourth-century date, and Professor Calder would date it (*loc. cit.*) to after A.D. 350. If, as seems probable, it was cut after the Council of Nicaea, and εὐνοῦχος is to be taken in its literal sense, the text is almost certainly heretical. The first Canon of the Council was to prohibit the ordination of self-mutilated eunuchs and, even if Heortasius, still νέος at the time of his death, had been ordained before the Council, it appears unlikely that the epitaph of an orthodox bishop would refer proudly to his self-mutilation once the Council had been held. It may be noted that this text, like that of the πρεσβύτερος εὐνοῦ(χ)ος of Laodicea Combusta (*SEG*, VI, 306 = *Anatolian Studies*, Ramsay, pp. 89-91), derives from a heretical region; the majority of the "Christians to Christians" epitaphs (cf. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, VII, 1922-23, pp. 336-349, and XIII, 1929, pp. 266-269) have been found either at Appia itself or on the neighbouring imperial estates of the Upper Tembris Valley.

There must, however, remain considerable doubt whether εὐνοῦχος is in this text to be taken literally or whether it denotes no more than ascetic continence. In this sense, Jerome calls St. John *eunuchus*, while the Encratite Julius Cassianus gave to his work περὶ ἐγκρατείας the sub-title ἡ περὶ εὐνουχίας. The application of the term τίμιος εὐνοῦχος¹ to Bishop Heortasius may well have been determined by a memory of the passage in Matthew, not literally but symbolically and correctly interpreted.

The claims of administrative work overseas have prevented me from making a contribution to this volume worthy of the admiration and gratitude in which I hold Mr. W. H. Buckler. In the

¹ The punctuation τίμιος, εὐνοῦχος, is possible, but less likely.

twenty years since the war it may be doubted whether any man has done so much to sustain and extend epigraphical studies in Turkey. His own contributions have been numerous and brilliant ; while his single-minded devotion in organizing anew the collection and publication of fresh material, in the improving of technique, and in fostering and co-ordinating the efforts of fellow-workers in so many countries by his selfless enthusiasm and boundless generosity, have made for him a place that is, and will remain, his own in the history of the growth of our knowledge of Asia Minor.

MITHRA EN ASIE MINEURE

par FRANZ CUMONT

LES témoignages des anciens et toute l'histoire de la diffusion du mazdéisme nous donnent l'assurance que les mystères de Mithra, qui devaient jouir dans l'empire romain d'une faveur prodigieuse, sont arrivés en Occident d'Asie Mineure.¹ Mais, fait surprenant, l'exploration de ce pays ne nous a révélé l'existence que d'un très petit nombre de monuments mithriaques et l'on chercherait en vain le nom du dieu perse dans la foule d'inscriptions que nous ont fait connaître les cinq volumes jusqu'ici parus des *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*. La raison de cette indigence épigraphique et archéologique est sans doute que les temples mithriaques ayant été aménagés d'abord dans les grottes de montagnes peu accessibles, puis ayant adopté le type de *spelaea* souterrains, construits à l'imitation de ces antres, pouvaient malaisément être connus d'explorateurs qui recueillaient les antiquités visibles à la surface du sol. La même cause a produit un effet opposé dans certains pays où des fouilles systématiques ont été entreprises : elles ont révélé l'existence d'un nombre considérable de mithréums qui, enfouis dans les profondeurs de la terre, avaient échappé à la destruction. Tel a été le cas, en particulier, le long du *limes* de Germanie et dans la ville de Rome.

Néanmoins, en Anatolie aussi, l'histoire de Mithra a bénéficié de recherches locales et même générales. Nos idées sur ce que fut la religion du dieu mazdéen se sont précisées et modifiées depuis que, à la fin du siècle dernier, nous avons tenté de résumer le peu que nous en savions. Dans ce recueil présenté en hommage à un connaisseur expert de l'Asie Mineure, je voudrais essayer d'indiquer rapidement en quoi notre savoir a été enrichi ou corrigé.

Bien que la quantité des monuments consacrés à Mithra en Asie Mineure reste toujours extrêmement restreinte, cependant cette

¹ Cf. nos *Textes et Mon. myst. de Mithra*, I, pp. 232 ss. ; *Religions orientales*,⁴ pp. 132 ss.

petite série s'est accrue de quelques numéros fort instructifs. Je rappellerai d'abord qu'en 1907, M. Henri Grégoire copia une inscription gravée sur un rocher, dans un défilé sauvage du Taurus, et qui paraît dater du I^{er} siècle de notre ère.¹

ARIARAMNEIA = RHODANDOS (Faraşa): Σαγάριος | Μαγ[α-
φέ]ρνου | στρατηγὸς | Ἀριαραμνεῖ(ας) | ἐμάγευσε | Μίθρη.

Les derniers mots sont rendus en araméen par פגיש [למ]תררה.

Nous avons exprimé naguère l'opinion que ἐμάγευσε Μίθρη devait peut-être se traduire, suivant une signification fréquente de l'aoriste, par "devint mage de Mithra."² La dédicace aurait alors été faite à l'occasion d'une initiation. La qualité de Mage était primitivement héréditaire dans une caste sacerdotale; elle ne s'obtenait que par la naissance, mais, à un certain moment, elle put être acquise par des étrangers, quand le culte prit la forme de mystères. On pourrait trouver une confirmation de cette manière de voir dans les graffites du mithréum de Doura Europos, où le titre de μάγος est donné à certains mystes.³ D'autre part, nous savons que Tiridate d'Arménie initia l'Empereur Néron aux rites secrets des Mages, comme le stratège d'Ariaramneia l'aurait été suivant notre dédicace.⁴

Cependant, je n'oserais affirmer que tel est le véritable sens. La fonction essentielle des Mages était le culte des dieux, la θεῶν θεραπεία, comme disent les Grecs,⁵ et aucun sacrifice ne pouvait être offert chez les Perses sans que l'un d'eux y prît part.⁶ Μαγεύω acquit ainsi la signification de célébrer une cérémonie du mazdéisme, que l'on appartînt ou non à la caste des Mages⁷ et les mots ἐμάγευσε

¹ Grégoire, C.-Rendus Acad. Inscr., 1908, pp. 434 ss.; cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéol. orientale*, VIII, p. 296; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für Sem. Epigr.*, III, p. 66; Chabot, *Répertoire ép. sem.*, II, No. 966.

² *Religions orientales*,⁴ p. 274, n. 23. Cette interprétation a été acceptée par M. Nock, *JRS*, XXVII, 1937, p. 110: "Μαγεύσας implies that a man who was not a μάγος by birth could become one by some ceremonial and could thus acquire competence to perform Magian rites." Sur la traduction araméenne du titre στρατηγός cf. Benvéniste, *Les Mages dans l'ancien Iran*, Paris, 1938.

³ Encore inédits; cf. *Excavations at Dura-E., Seventh season*, New Haven, 1938 (sous presse).

⁴ Pline, *Hist. Nat.*, XXX, 1, 6; Cassius Dion, LXIII, 1-7; cf. *L'iniziazione di Nerone* dans *Rivista di filologia*, LXI, 1933, pp. 145-154.

⁵ Bidez et Cumont, *Les Mages hellénisés*, I, 1938, p. 94, n. 1.

⁶ Hérodote, I, 132, 3; cf. Strabon, XV, 3, 13, p. 732 C.

⁷ Ainsi les Actes de Sainte Sira, martyrisée sous Chosroès, racontent que sa belle-mère l'ayant exhortée à μαγεύειν κατὰ συνήθειαν, la sainte saisit les baguettes (du baresmán)

Mithra peuvent ainsi rappeler simplement une offrande solennelle, par laquelle le stratège Magapherne aurait voulu se rendre propice le dieu invincible.

C'est dans l'ouest de l'Asie Mineure que nous transporte une autre trouvaille. En 1926, M. Christopher M. Cox a eu la prévenance de me communiquer une inscription copiée par lui dans la cour d'une maison de Savçilar, un village situé sur la rive N. O. du lac Simav (*Synaüs*) aux frontières de la Phrygie et de la Mysie. Une base de 84 cm. de haut porte, gravée en beaux caractères (H. 0'03), la dédicace :

ΗΛΙΩΜΙΘΡΑΜΙΔΩΝ
 ΣΩΛΟ Reste ΝΟΣ
 d'un buste
 ΑΝΕΘ coiffé du ΗΚΕΝ
 bonnet
 ΕΥ phrygien ΧΗΝ
 Η
 ≡ ΤΟΥΣ ΡΞΒ ΠΒ ΜΠ≡

Le principal intérêt qu'offrent ces lignes, trop brèves à notre gré, est leur datation : *Ἐτους ρξβ' μη(νὸς) Π[α(νῆμου)]*. Si, comme il est probable, l'ère employée est celle de la province d'Asie (automne 85 av. J. C.)¹ notre base sculptée serait de l'année 78/77 de notre ère, c'est-à-dire qu'elle serait contemporaine des plus anciens monuments trouvés en Occident.² Le mazdéisme a été introduit dès l'époque des Achéménides dans ce coin de l'Asie Mineure où se trouve Savçilar, comme le prouve le bas-relief, souvent reproduit,³ découvert à Ergili (*Dascylium* ?) près du lac Manyas,⁴ et figurant deux Mages sacrifiant, le faisceau de brindilles (*baresmân*) à la main, la bouche couverte du *pâdam*, pour que leur haleine ne souille pas

δι' ὧν ἐμάγευν κατά τὴν τοῦ Ζωροάστρου παράδοσιν et les brisa (AA. SS., Mai, t. IV, p. 171, ch. 2 ; cf. nos *Mages hellénisés*, II, p. 86, fr. D. 12).—Le sens primitif de *μαγεύω* est "être mage" "être instruit de la sagesse des mages" (Estienne, s.v.), mais il s'emploie ordinairement en grec avec l'acception dérivée d'user des procédés magiques.

¹ M. C. Cox, qui réside actuellement à Khartoum et que M. Buckler a eu l'obligeance d'interroger à ce sujet, nous a confirmé que Savçilar se trouvait bien dans la province d'Asie.

² Cf. *Mon. myst. de Mithra*, I, p. 245. Le premier dont on puisse fixer l'époque, est un groupe du Mithra tauroctone, conservé au British Museum, que son inscription prouve appartenir à la période des Flaviens.

³ Mendel, *Cat. Musée C/ple*, III, No. 1557 ; Macridy, *BCH*, XXXVII, 1913, pp. 340 ss. ; Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque*, I, p. 410, Fig. 115 ; cf. nos *Religions orientales*,⁴ p. 135, Fig. 10, et p. 275, n. 29.

⁴ Sur le site, où l'on a recueilli beaucoup d'antiquités, cf. L. Robert, *Inscr. de la coll. Froehner*, 1936, p. 61, n. 1 ; *Études anatoliennes*, 1937, pp. 206, 208.

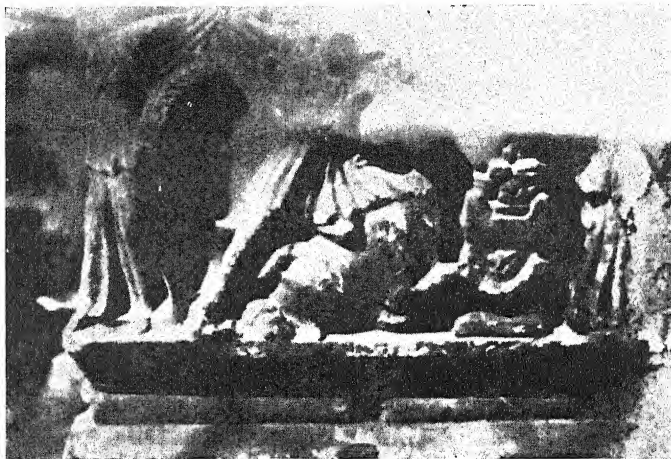
le feu divin. Mais la dédicace 'Ηλίω Μίθρα qu'a mise au jour M. Cox, nous prouve que ce mazdéisme y avait pris au 1^{er} siècle de notre ère la forme des mystères mithriaques. Si l'on en rapproche le règlement instituant un culte funéraire à Amorium et mentionnant deux fois la fête annuelle des *Mithrakana*,¹ on sera disposé à reconnaître au moins une part de vérité dans l'indication d'un obscur scholiaste de Stace² : "*Quae sacra (Mithrae) primum Persae habuerunt, a Persis Phryges, a Phrygibus Romani.*"

Passons en Pisidie. Il y a une trentaine d'années, Miss Gertrude Bell voulut bien me communiquer une photographie d'un bas-relief qu'elle avait prise à Isbarta, l'ancienne Baris, au cours d'un récent voyage en Asie Mineure. La pierre, dont la conservation, m'écrivait-elle, était bonne, se trouvait dans la maison d'un Grec et mesurait environ un mètre de long. Malheureusement un fonctionnaire turc eut la malencontreuse idée d'entr'ouvrir un des rouleaux de pellicules que la célèbre exploratrice avait expédiés par la poste, et tout le haut de l'image est ainsi devenu indistinct. J'ai hésité longtemps à publier une reproduction aussi imparfaite dans l'espoir qu'un autre archéologue retrouverait le bas-relief. Mais après tant d'années il faut sans doute y renoncer (où sont maintenant les Grecs d'Isbarta?), et je donnerai ici tout ce qu'un opérateur expert a pu tirer de la photographie de Miss Bell (Pl. II, 1). Je m'y décide d'autant plus aisément que M. Fritz Saxl,³ à qui j'avais fait connaître ce monument, a insisté récemment sur l'intérêt de sa composition, unique en son genre. Au centre, on voit le Mithra tauroctone, dans son attitude et son costume habituels, son manteau flottant derrière ses épaules. Le taureau abattu, dont la tête est mutilée, paraît n'être entouré d'aucun des animaux qui l'accompagnent d'ordinaire en Occident, mais, devant lui, est placé un autel, décoré d'une guirlande et d'une rosace et sur lequel sont posés des fruits, prémices des récoltes que fait croître le dieu de la fécondité, ou peut-être les pains marqués d'une croix, qu'on con-

¹ Ramsay, *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, II, 1889, p. 19 = *Mon. myst. Mithra*, II, p. 91, No. 4. M. L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, p. 305, corrige ταῖς κατὰ ἔτος ἐθίμοις ἡμέραις προστα[φ]ιάζοντες en προσ[φ]α[γ]ιάζοντες.

² Lactantius Placidus, *ad. Stat.*, I, 717 (p. 73, 20 Jahnke). Sur la diffusion du mazdéisme dans l'ouest de l'Asie Mineure, cf. *Les Mages hellénisés*, I, pp. 5 ss.

³ Fritz Saxl, *Mithras, typengeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, 1931, p. 14, et Pl. 7, Fig. 38.



1. Bas-relief à Isbarta.



2. Monnaie de Trapézus.

sommaient dans les repas sacrés.¹ A droite et à gauche, sont debout, symétriquement, deux Victoires ailées,² dont au moins l'une tient une palme : elles rappellent le triomphe remporté par Mithra dans sa lutte contre le taureau, et, en général, le trait le plus saillant du caractère du *deus invictus*, protecteur des soldats.³

Voilà donc ce que nous ont appris des découvertes archéologiques et épigraphiques du XX^e siècle ; somme toute peu de chose, si l'on songe à ce que fut l'aire de diffusion du mazdéisme, répandu depuis la Lydie jusqu'à l'Arménie.

Dans le Pont, où régnèrent des Mithridate, Mithra fut certainement adoré comme dieu tutélaire depuis l'époque hellénistique, et l'on savait depuis longtemps que la ville de Trapézus l'honorait spécialement. La légende locale de St. Eugène raconte comment le martyr détruisit une idole sur la colline qui encore au Moyen Age s'appelait *Μιθρίος βουνός*.⁴ La grotte qui était consacrée au dieu perse, se voit encore, selon toute probabilité, au sommet de la colline qui domine Trébizonde du côté de l'Orient et que frappent les rayons du soleil levant,⁵ comme l'a reconnu

¹ Cf. *Mon. myst. de Mithra*, I, p. 321, n. 3. Les pains étaient marqués de deux raies en croix pour pouvoir être aisément rompus ; cf. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, 1907, p. 306 s.

² Au point de vue artistique, M. Saxl rapproche cette disposition, qui n'apparaît dans aucune autre sculpture mithriaque, de certains sarcophages dont les figures d'angle sont des Victoires (Bovio, *Bull. della comm. arch. di Roma*, LII, 1925, p. 160) et il remarque que "Die Dreiergruppe mit flankierenden geflügelten Wesen ist wohl ungriechischen, orientalischen Ursprungs."

³ Je noterai encore que les inscriptions funéraires de Lycaonie où l'on trouve *λέων* et *ἀετός*, ne mentionnent pas, comme l'avait pensé Rohde, des grades mithriaques. Les doutes que j'avais exprimés (*Mon. myst. Mithra*, II, p. 172, nos. 549, 550) étaient justifiés. Le *λέων* et l'*ἀετός* se rapportent à la construction du tombeau lui-même, comme l'a expliqué Ramsay (*Stud. ERP*, 1906, p. 278) et confirmé L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, p. 394. M. Anti (*Esplorazioni nella Licia dans Monumenti Antichi*, XXIX, 1923, p. 692), a conjecturé qu'un temple construit à l'orifice d'une grotte dans le Kavak Dağ, pourrait être un *spelaeum* mithriaque, mais c'est une pure hypothèse.

⁴ *Mon. myst. Mithra*, II, 55c et add., t. I, p. 362.

⁵ J'avais cru que ce *spelaeum* devait être cherché sur le flanc occidental de la colline, là où se trouvait jusqu'à la guerre l'église de la Panaghia Théosképastos (*Voyage archéol. dans le Pont*, p. 367). Mais Mgr. Chrysanthos dans son importante histoire de l'église de Trébizonde (*Ἡ ἐκκλησία Τραπεζούντος*, Athènes, 1933 (1936), p. 106 s.), a fait observer que la biographie de Saint-Eugène dit expressément qu'une église de St. Jean Baptiste succéda à l'autel de Mithra sur le sommet de la colline. Les ruines de cette église y sont encore visibles et c'est là que doit être cherché l'autel du dieu perse : *Κάτω τοῦ δαπέδου τοῦ ναοῦ τούτου εὑρίσκοντο ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἡμῶν ἀντρον ἢ σπήλαιον καταχωσθέν κατὰ μέγα μέρος καὶ ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ ἐσώζετο ἔτι ἡ συνήθης εἰς τὰ σπήλαια τοῦ Μίθρα πηγὴ ὕδατος*. Des fouilles pratiquées dans cette grotte pourraient être fructueuses.

Mgr. Chrysanthos, l'historien érudit de sa ville archiépiscopale. La numismatique de Trapézus, qu'ont étudiée en détail les auteurs du *Recueil des monnaies d'Asie Mineure*, jette quelque jour sur l'histoire de ce culte depuis l'époque où reprennent, sous Trajan, les émissions de l'antique colonie de Sinope.¹ Trapézus devint sous les empereurs le grand port militaire du Pont Euxin et son monnayage abondant reproduit avec une fréquence presque exclusive l'image de Mithra, preuve certaine que celui-ci était le dieu principal de cette place de guerre et de commerce. Sous Trajan, apparaît d'abord un simple buste drapé, coiffé d'un bonnet phrygien entouré de rayons.² Sous Lucius Vérus s'introduit un type nouveau. A côté du même buste de Mithra, prend place une protomé de cheval, visible jusqu'au poitrail (Pl. II, 2).³ Concurrément avec cette représentation, les monnaies nous montrent, depuis Septime Sévère jusqu'à Philippe le fils, Mithra à cheval, ordinairement entre un arbre et un autel flamboyant,⁴ allusion au culte du feu. Parfois un corbeau est perché sur l'arbre ou vole au-dessus du cavalier, ou bien un serpent rampe sous sa monture ;⁵ enfin, comme sur les bas-reliefs occidentaux du dieu tauroctone, il arrive qu'à droite et à gauche se tiennent les deux dadophores, dont l'un élève et l'autre abaisse sa torche.⁶

¹ Waddington, Babelon, Reinach, *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*, t. I, 2^{ème} édition, 1925, pp. 148 ss. et Pl. XV ss.

² *Ibid.*, p. 148, No. 4 ss., et Pl. XV, 16 ss. Les rayons prouvent que Mithra était conçu comme un dieu solaire. Je crois d'après les phototypies, que ces rayons étaient au nombre de sept, comme c'est certainement le cas pour la monnaie reproduite fig. 2. Mithra est le dieu *ἑπτακτις*. Cf. *Mon. myst. Mithra*, I, pp. 123, n. 7 ; 193, n. 3.

³ Notre figure reproduit une monnaie unique de ce type, frappée sous le règne de Caracalla et qui faisait partie du cabinet des princes de Waldeck à Arolsen (*Recueil*, p. 151, No. 21). J'ai pu l'acquérir quand fut dispersée cette collection. Elle est aujourd'hui au Cabinet de numismatique de Bruxelles. Ce type a été copié sur une pierre gravée, probablement moderne, autrefois à Rome, cf. L. Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

⁴ Sept arbres joints à sept autels flamboyants (symboles de la terre et du feu ?) se retrouvent sur certains bas-reliefs (*Mon. myst. Mithra*, I, p. 115, n. 4) et aussi dans les peintures du mithréum de Doura (*Excav. at Dura Europos*, seventh season [sous presse], et des jardins Barberini à Rome (encore inédite).

⁵ Comme dans la scène de chasse du mithréum de Doura, cf. *infra*, p. 73, n. 2.

⁶ Sur deux monnaies, on distingue en outre devant le cavalier "une colonne sur une base, surmontée d'un oiseau, qui paraît être un corbeau, et au dessus de l'oiseau, une étoile" (Gordien, *Recueil*, p. 155, No. 50, et Philippe, *ibid.*, p. 157, No. 56). Le Catalogue du British Museum, auquel appartient la première pièce (*Pontus*, p. 40, No. 4 ; Pl. VII, 8), voit dans l'oiseau un coq. Il nous semble que c'est un aigle et que cette représentation fait allusion à une légende perdue, dont un souvenir lointain s'est conservé chez les alchimistes. Ostanès

Aujourd'hui seulement, la valeur de cette série monétaire peut être pleinement appréciée. Les numismates ont pensé d'abord que le cavalier qui y figure était le dieu Mên, que les bronzes d'autres cités d'Asie Mineure représentent à cheval, et l'on crut même reconnaître derrière ses épaules les pointes du croissant qui caractérise le *Lunus* anatolique. Mais la ressemblance entre les monnaies de Trapézus et les monuments mithriaques sautait aux yeux, et nous avons été ainsi induits à admettre l'existence dans le Pont d'une divinité synchrétique Mên-Mithra, bien que l'un fût lunaire et l'autre solaire. Seulement les auteurs du *Corpus* pontique nous affirment que "le croissant sur les épaules, caractéristique de Mên, n'existe, quoiqu'on ait dit, sur aucun exemplaire."¹ D'autre part, alors que le Mithra cavalier n'était connu naguère que par des monuments secondaires ou d'appartenance douteuse,² sur le bas-relief de Dieburg, découvert en 1926, nous voyons à la place d'honneur, qu'occupe d'ordinaire le groupe du dieu tauroctone, un Mithra archer, chassant à courre avec sa meute.³ Et cette même chasse de Mithra est reproduite par deux grands tableaux du mithréum de Doura.⁴ Le dieu vêtu du costume perse, galope en tendant son arc, accompagné dans sa course rapide par un lion et un serpent ; devant lui, fuient des daims, des gazelles, un sanglier, qui sont percés de ses flèches. Un hymne sacré, sans nul doute, inspirait ces compositions, et racontait les exploits cynégétiques du cavalier intrépide, dont les traits ne manquaient jamais leur but et qu'invoquaient avec prédilection les archers montés de l'armée romaine.⁵

Mithra dans l'Avesta n'est pas un cavalier ; comme un roi oriental, il combat monté sur un char, et ici apparaît l'importance du monnayage de Trapézus. Car on peut se demander si ce n'est

aurait parlé de l'érection d'une colonne surmontée d'un aigle de bronze que les Mages auraient adoré ; cf. Bidez et Cumont, *Les Mages hellénisés*, II, p. 329, fr. A. 14, a et p. 333, n. 4.

¹ Waddington, Babelon, Reinach, *Recueil*,² p. 148.

² Cf. *Mon. myst. de Mithra*, II, p. 424, No. 310 et la note. Il est maintenant devenu certain que ce bas relief de Neuenheim est bien un Mithra cavalier, accompagné du lion et du serpent, comme à Doura.

³ Friedrich Behn, *Das Mithrasheiligtum zu Dieburg*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1928.

⁴ Publiés par Rostovtzeff, *Röm. Mitt.*, XLIX, 1934, pp. 180 ss. ; cf. *The Problem of Parthian Art* (*Yale Classical Studies*, V, 1935, p. 278 et Fig. 79). Les tableaux seront décrits plus en détail dans le *Report VII*.

⁵ La suggestion que la valeur religieuse attribuée en Germanie à la chasse de Mithra serait due à une assimilation de celui-ci au dieu Wotan, ne peut plus être retenue après la découverte de Doura. Cf. les observations de Carl Clemen, *Archiv für Religionswiss.*, XXXIV, 1937, pp. 217 ss.

pas en Asie Mineure que Mithra a appris à pratiquer l'équitation.¹ En effet, les dieux cavaliers sont nombreux dans la péninsule anatolique ;² la Cappadoce et le Pont, colonisés par une noblesse iranienne, furent toujours, à travers les âges, une région de haras ;³ ses seigneurs féodaux ou *satrapes*, comme ils s'appelaient, combattaient à cheval ; la force de l'armée de Mithridate résidait surtout dans sa cavalerie⁴ et le dieu invincible, dont cette cavalerie attendait la victoire, ne pouvait être lui aussi qu'un cavalier. A l'époque chrétienne St. Georges de Cappadoce, qu'on se représentait monté sur un destrier blanc, devait hériter de cette puissance tutélaire de Mithra⁵ : le Saint *Τροπαιοφόρος* fut le protecteur des troupes byzantines, comme son prédécesseur l'avait été de celles du Pont et de Rome. Il fut aussi celui qui, dans un pays essentiellement agricole, favorisait la fécondité de la terre et la multiplication du bétail, comme l'avait fait avant lui le dieu, " maître des vastes campagnes," auteur de toute génération.

Toutes les indications que nous avons recueillies jusqu'ici ne nous instruisent guère d'un point essentiel, celui de savoir quelle fut la théologie de ces *Maguséens* d'Anatolie, premiers auteurs des doctrines professées par les mystes de Mithra. Mais une découverte archéologique faite en Germanie nous a, chose curieuse, permis de mieux apprécier la source d'information la plus claire que nous possédions sur ces dogmes gréco-mazdéens, je veux dire le mythe cosmologique que Dion Chrysostome a inséré dans un de ses discours.⁶ On a

¹ Nous ne pouvons qu'indiquer brièvement ici comment se pose la question, dont l'étude sera reprise dans le volume consacré au mithréum de Doura.

² Jean Gagé, *Dieux cavaliers en Asie Mineure* (*Mélanges de l'École de Rome*, 1926, pp. 103-123). On trouve aussi en Syrie plusieurs dieux, surtout solaires, à cheval (*Syria*, V, 1924, Pl. XXXI, 4, et p. 120 ; X, 1929, pp. 30 ss. ; Mousterde, *Dieux cavaliers de la région d'Alep* dans *Mélanges de l'Univ. de Beyrouth*, XI, fasc. 6, 1926). Mais le culte de Mithra en Syrie ne paraît pas être ancien : il s'y est introduit d'Asie Mineure à l'époque romaine. Ce n'est pas là que le dieu a pris ce caractère qui doit lui avoir appartenu dès la période hellénistique. L'Iran connaissait à l'époque Parthe un dieu chasseur que l'on identifiait avec Hercule (Tacite, *Annales*, XII, 13) et Sir Aurel Stein a relevé à Karafto, dans le Kurdistan, près d'une grotte, sur une paroi où se lit une inscription mentionnant Héraklès (*SEG*, VII, 36), de nombreux graffites représentant un cavalier (encore inédits). Mais le dieu mazdéen dont on traduisait le nom par Héraklès est Véréthraghna, non Mithra.

³ Cf. *Religions orientales*,⁴ p. 133 ; *CAH*, XI, p. 606.

⁴ Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator*, 1890, pp. 269 ss.

⁵ Cf. *St. George and Mithra* dans *JRS*, XXVII, 1937, pp. 63-71.

⁶ Dion, *Or.*, XXXVI, §§ 39-60, Sur ce mythe ; cf. Cumont, *Revue de l'hist des rel.*, CIII, 1931, pp. 33 ss. ; Nyberg, *Journal asiatique*, CCXIX, 1931, pp. 92 ss. Nous en avons repris l'étude en collaboration avec M. Bidez dans *Les Mages hellénisés*, 1938, t. I, pp. 91 ss. ; II, p. 142, fr. 0.8, dont nous résumons ici les conclusions.

depuis longtemps admis que le rhéteur de Pruse, que ses tournées de conférences menèrent à travers toute l'Asie Mineure, avait emprunté aux mystères du dieu perse, qui y florissaient de son temps, ce "mythe, chanté par les Mages dans leurs cérémonies secrètes" : la vie du monde y est figurée par les évolutions et transformations d'un quadrigé étrange, dont les coursiers symbolisent les métamorphoses des éléments et leur absorption par le Feu divin. Des croyances iraniennes s'y mêlent aux théories stoïciennes sur la destinée de l'univers et la conflagration finale, qui doit le détruire et préparer sa rénovation. L'on pouvait se demander jusqu'à quel point l'orateur avait transformé le "chant barbare" qu'il invoque pour l'adapter à la cosmologie du Portique. Si une idée pouvait paraître interpolée dans l'hymne mazdéen, c'était le rapprochement établi par l'écrivain grec entre l'incendie de l'univers et le mythe de Phaëthon, où les stoïciens voyaient une allégorie de leur *ἐκπύρωσις*. Mais le bas relief de Dieburg, dont nous avons déjà signalé plus haut l'importance (p. 73), porte sur toute sa face postérieure une grande représentation de ce mythe ; ainsi est apparu clairement que cette fable, avec l'interprétation qu'on lui avait donnée, avait été accueillie par le syncrétisme des mystères persiques dans leur mythologie. La fusion des enseignements du Portique avec les traditions mazdéennes n'est point l'oeuvre du sophiste bithynien du I^{er} siècle, mais elle a été opérée par les Mages eux-mêmes, probablement dès l'époque hellénistique.

Bien plus, en étudiant de près le texte du discours où est exposé le contenu de cet hymne mithriaque, on s'aperçoit que celui-ci n'est pas le seul que Dion ait utilisé. Il rapporte, pour finir, un autre allégorie "que chantent les enfants des sages—c'est-à-dire les Mages—dans leurs initiations mystérieuses" : le mariage de Zeus et d'Héra y représentait l'union du Feu et de l'Air et la combinaison de ces éléments formait le *πνεῦμα* stoïcien, auteur de toute fécondité, de qui naissaient tous les êtres animés.

Dion Chrysostome doit donc avoir eu sous les yeux quelque euchologe mithriaque, dont les hymnes amalgamaient la philosophie stoïcienne avec la religion mazdéenne, et y ayant reconnu avec surprise ses propres convictions, exposées sous le voile d'allégories poétiques, il s'y intéressa au point de s'en inspirer pour une de ses conférences. Cette constatation est d'un intérêt capital pour la

compréhension de cette religion composite qu'étaient les mystères mithriaques et montre combien ceux-ci ont été profondément hellénisés.

Ces mystères n'ont pas seulement traduit en grec les chants liturgiques, qui avaient été longtemps rédigés en araméen,¹ ils ont fortement modifié aussi le fonds des croyances dont ils étaient les interprètes. Les dogmes capitaux du mazdéisme furent affectés par cette transformation. C'est ainsi que combinant l'idée iranienne d'une destinée de l'univers, ordonnée selon une série de millénaires, avec la doctrine astrologique de la domination des sept planètes sur la terre, ces Mages étaient arrivés à la conception d'un monde devant durer six mille ans, lesquels devaient être suivis d'un âge d'or, soumis à l'influence du Soleil, à qui ce métal appartient, millénium de félicité, dont l'idée devait être reprise par les chiliastes juifs et chrétiens.² Dans la grande crise qui précédera l'instauration de ce règne solaire, un fleuve de feu se répandra sur la terre ; tous les hommes devront le traverser, et il brûlera les méchants mais ne fera point souffrir les justes. Cette croyance qui remonte aux origines même du mazdéisme, fut, elle aussi, combinée avec les doctrines des disciples de Zénon. Le "feu sage" qui distinguait ainsi entre les pécheurs et les élus, fut identifié avec le *πῦρ νοερόν* qui, pour eux, était l'énergie divine répandue dans toute la nature et toute l'eschatologie de l'ancien Iran fut ainsi modifiée par un rapprochement établi avec l'*ἐκπύρωσις* des philosophes. Nous voyons ainsi peu à peu se préciser nos idées sur ce mélange de croyances perses, d'astrologie chaldéenne et de spéculations helléniques qui constitua, en Asie Mineure, la théologie du mithraïsme.

¹ L'araméen et non le perse était à l'époque hellénistique la langue rituelle des Maguséens d'Asie Mineure, cf. *Religions orientales*,⁴ p. 135.

² Sur tout ceci, cf. notre *Fin du monde selon les Mages* (*Revue hist. des religions*, CIII, 1931), surtout pp. 40 ss. et 83. Wikenhauser, *Die Herkunft der Idee des tausendjährigen Reiches* dans *Römische Quartalschrift*, XLV, 1937, pp. 1 ss.

LES ACTES DE SAINT TIMOTHEE

par HIPPOLYTE DELEHAYE, S.J.

LES *Forschungen in Ephesos* de l'Institut archéologique autrichien ont ramené l'attention sur les Actes de S. Timothée, publiés en 1643 dans les *Acta Sanctorum*, et dont le texte grec, accompagné d'un commentaire très érudit, a été présenté au monde savant, en 1877, par H. Usener.¹ Dernièrement M. J. Keil leur a consacré un important article, où les données archéologiques ont été spécialement mises à profit.² Ces Actes, remarquables par leur simplicité, renferment des éléments intéressants, qui ont excité depuis longtemps la curiosité des érudits, sans réussir à les mettre d'accord sur la valeur historique du récit, sur le genre auquel il faut le rattacher et sur l'époque de sa composition. Le moment semble venu de revenir sur ces questions. Sans nous arrêter à exposer les opinions courantes, nous entrons immédiatement dans le sujet.

Il existe des Actes de Timothée une vieille traduction latine.³ Ce n'est pas une de ces versions qu'on est tenté de négliger, sous prétexte que nous possédons l'original. Elle représente en effet un exemplaire plus complet que le texte grec publié, et offre des variantes dont il convient de tenir compte. Le titre est séparé du corps du récit par une adresse qui donne à la pièce une allure spéciale : *Martyrium S. Timothei discipuli quidem facti S. Pauli apostoli, primi autem patriarchae constituti Ephesiorum metropolis Asiae, cunctis huius Asiae et Frygiae, Pamphyliae, Ponti et Galatiae et omnibus in catholica pace degentibus conpresbyteris*. L'auteur de l'écrit que nous allons résumer donne son nom : c'est Polycrate.

¹ *Acta S. Timothei*, programme de l'Université de Bonn. Usener a répondu à certaines critiques dans un article reproduit dans ses *Kleine Schriften*, t. III, pp. 74-104.

² *Zum Martyrium des heiligen Timotheus in Ephesos*, dans *Jahreshefte des Österr. archäologischen Institutes*, t. XXIX (1934), pp. 82-92. Notre travail était à l'impression lorsque nous avons eu connaissance, grâce à une obligeante indication de M. J. Keil, de l'article *Timotheos* de E. Fascher paru dans la *Real-Encyclopädie* de Pauly-Wissowa, VI A, en 1937.

³ Usener, dans les *Acta S. Timothei*, a republié le texte des *Acta Sanctorum*, Ian. t. II, p. 566, revu sur plusieurs manuscrits.

Passons sur la première page où sont rappelées les relations de Timothée avec S. Paul, qui l'établit évêque d'Éphèse sous l'empereur Néron et le proconsul Maximus. L'auteur continue : sur sa doctrine, ses miracles, son action on se renseignera dans les Actes des Apôtres. Nous croyons devoir montrer qu'il connut personnellement non seulement l'apôtre Paul, mais aussi Jean. Tandis que Néron poursuivait les princes des apôtres, et que mouraient plusieurs de leurs disciples, Jean, le grand Théologien, échappé à un naufrage, arriva dans cette ville, comme on peut le lire dans les écrits d'Irénée de Lyon sur l'apôtre. Les disciples des disciples du Seigneur, qui avaient écrit le récit de ses miracles sur des feuilles détachées, en diverses langues, et ne savaient comment les mettre en ordre, vinrent à Éphèse, et selon l'opinion commune, les remirent à Jean. Celui-ci répartit ces notes en trois Évangiles, auxquels il donna les noms de Matthieu, de Marc et de Luc. Mais voyant qu'ils s'étaient attachés à la généalogie humaine, il suppléa à ce qui leur manquait par les merveilles puisées au coeur du divin Maître, et à cet Évangile il donna son nom. Le démon fit répandre contre lui des calomnies, pour le perdre dans l'esprit de Domitien. Celui-ci l'exila à Patmos, une des Cyclades.

Timothée continuait à présider à l'administration de l'Église d'Éphèse. Mais l'idolâtrie n'était pas complètement extirpée : on n'avait point renoncé à célébrer une fête, appelée *Καταγώγια*. Ceux qui y prenaient part étaient masqués et costumés d'une façon inconvenante. Ils portaient des idoles et des gourdins, et tout en chantant s'attaquaient à des hommes et à des femmes respectables, ensanglantaient les principaux endroits de la ville, se donnant l'air d'accomplir un devoir et un acte religieux. Timothée essaya de les détourner de ces pratiques insensées. Le jour de cette fête abominable, il se mit, au milieu du portique, à leur crier : "Éphésiens, renoncez aux folies de l'idolâtrie et reconnaissez le vrai Dieu."

Mais les ministres du démon tombèrent sur lui avec leurs gourdins et l'abattirent. Les fidèles le relevèrent respirant encore et le portèrent à la montagne qui avoisine la ville, près du port. Là, le saint rendit l'âme, et son corps fut déposé à l'endroit appelé Pion, où se trouve son *μαρτύριον*.

Après la mort de Domitien, Nerva rappela de l'exil l'apôtre Jean qui revint à Éphèse. Timothée n'était plus, et à la de-

mande des chefs, Jean accepta de se charger de l'administration de l'Église.

Timothée mourut trois jours après les *Καταγώγια*, d'après le comput Asiatique le 30^e jour du quatrième mois ; d'après le calendrier romain le 22 janvier, sous le règne de Nerva et le proconsulat de Peregrinus.

Cette pièce a été écrite à Éphèse, toujours appelée "notre ville": *ἐπιστὰς τῇ Ἐφεσίων ταύτῃ πόλει—ἐπιστῆναι ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει—ἐν ὁρίῳ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως*. Le corps du saint est déposé *ἐν τόπῳ ἐπικαλουμένῳ Πίονι ἔνθα νῦν τυγχάνει τὸ ἀγιώτατον αὐτοῦ μαρτύριον*. Timothée parle aux païens *ἐν τῇ μέσῃ τοῦ ἐμβόλου*. Le portique est attesté par les inscriptions et il donnait peut-être son nom à un quartier ou à un édifice d'où les *ἐμβολεῖται* tiraient le leur.¹ Puis il y a la fête locale des *Καταγώγια* célébrée, non pas en l'honneur de la grande Diane, comme on l'a cru longtemps, mais en l'honneur de Dionysos.

Plusieurs villes grecques en avaient institué une semblable, et le jour de l'entrée de Marc Antoine à Éphèse, l'an 41 avant J. C., on voit s'y dérouler un cortège de bacchantes, de Pans et de Satyres, acclamant le héros du jour sous le nom de Dionysos.²

Si le lieu d'origine des Actes de S. Timothée n'offre aucun doute, nous n'avons aucune donnée sur l'époque de leur rédaction. On a voulu les faire remonter très haut, en tenant compte surtout de l'impression favorable produite par la lecture d'un récit simple, sincère et sans apprêts, contrastant avec tant d'autres histoires de convention où la fantaisie et le merveilleux débordent. Mais voici d'abord une objection. La patrie de Timothée, Lystres, est appelée par l'hagiographe *μία τῆς Λυκαόνων ἐπαρχίας*. La Lycaonie n'a été érigée en province qu'en 374 : une difficulté dont Usener a essayé de se tirer, en supposant qu'au V^e siècle, quelque sous-diacre (pourquoi un sous-diacre ?) a bien pu substituer, au mot *χώρα* ou *γῆ* de l'original, le terme, propre alors, aujourd'hui embarrassant, d'*ἐπαρχία*.³ Cela n'est pas de bonne guerre, et pour notre part nous n'avons aucune peine à admettre que la pièce a été écrite à une époque relativement tardive, au début, ou même à la fin du V^e siècle.

¹ Keil, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

² Plutarque, *Antoine*, 23 ; Keil, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-87.

³ Usener, *Acta S. Timothei*, p. 35.

Parmi les qualités qui ont fait apprécier les Actes de Timothée, on signale l'exactitude de la chronologie. Sur ce point, dit-on, on n'a pas réussi à prendre l'hagiographe en défaut. N'exagérons rien. Comme repères chronologiques nous n'avons que cinq noms : les empereurs Néron, Domitien et Nerva, plus deux proconsuls : Maximus et Peregrinus. Pour dater approximativement les événements racontés par l'hagiographe, qui sans doute n'était pas un illettré, la liste des empereurs n'offrait pas grand choix, et il n'est guère étonnant qu'il n'ait pas commis sur ce point quelque grosse erreur. Quant aux deux magistrats, les plus consciencieux efforts ont été faits pour leur trouver une place dans la liste des proconsuls d'Asie. On n'a abouti qu'à découvrir un Maximus, *consul suffectus* de l'an 49, qui aurait pu devenir proconsul, mais sans qu'on sache si cet honneur lui est réellement échu. Pour un Peregrinus, on pourrait peut-être, avec beaucoup de bonne volonté, trouver une place disponible. La conjecture ne va pas au-delà.¹ Les deux noms de ces prétendus proconsuls d'Asie sont assez fréquents à cette époque pour qu'on puisse les avoir trouvés ailleurs que dans les fastes. Les hagiographes n'ont jamais été embarrassés pour recruter leur personnel. Ne nous extasions donc pas devant la précision chronologique, très illusoire, de nos Actes. Il importe avant tout de s'entendre sur le caractère propre de cette composition.

On s'aperçoit aussitôt qu'il y est beaucoup plus question de S. Jean que de Timothée, sur lequel nous n'apprenons presque rien. Th. Zahn en avait conclu que l'hagiographe ne connaissait aucune tradition ancienne sur sa vie et son activité.² Tout le premier Usener avait senti combien était anormal le cas d'un historien qui s'empresse d'oublier son héros pour s'occuper presque exclusivement d'un autre. Cela ne pouvait s'expliquer que d'une seule manière. Et voici comment l'entendait Usener. Pour écrire les Actes de Timothée qu'on lui demandait, l'auteur ne disposait que d'une source, aujourd'hui perdue : une histoire de l'Église d'Éphèse dans laquelle il était parlé de S. Jean et de S. Timothée. Ayant à s'occuper de ce dernier, il aurait dû normalement s'en tenir aux passages qui le concernaient. Il trouva plus simple de transcrire ces

¹ Usener, *Kleine Schriften*, t.c., p. 84.

² Voir le compte rendu développé du travail d'Usener dans *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1878, t. I, pp. 97-114.

Annales telles qu'elles se présentaient, en abrégeant peut-être de-ci de-là.

C'est un jeu bien dangereux que la recherche des sources perdues. De cette histoire de l'Église d'Éphèse, on n'a jamais entendu parler, et Eusèbe, si intéressé à recueillir tout ce qui concerne les origines des grandes Églises, ne fait pas la moindre allusion à un ouvrage de ce genre. Mais Usener insiste. L'auteur ne peut avoir été amené par la tâche qu'il s'est imposée à opérer la fusion des Actes de S. Jean avec ceux de Timothée. Il doit l'avoir trouvée toute faite dans cette histoire.¹

On ne peut assez s'étonner qu'avant d'écrire cette réplique, Usener n'ait pas relu le passage où l'hagiographe indique expressément à quelle pensée il obéit. Sur la doctrine et les miracles et les grandes actions de Timothée on peut se renseigner dans les Actes des Apôtres : Ἡμᾶς δὲ δίκαιον παραστήσαι ὅτι γε δὴ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀγιώτατος ἀπόστολος Τιμόθεος οὐ μόνον τοῦ ἀγίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀοιδίμου καὶ πανευφήμου ἀποστόλου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐνδόξου θεολόγου Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος ἀναπαυσαμένου τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτόπτης τε καὶ αὐτήκοος γεγένηται. En d'autres termes : on sait de reste que Timothée a été le disciple de S. Paul ; je me propose de montrer qu'il n'a pas été en relations moins étroites avec notre S. Jean.

Nul argument n'était mieux fait pour promouvoir le culte de S. Timothée à Éphèse que d'insister sur les liens qui l'unissaient au grand patron de la cité. Ce n'était pas une entreprise bien aisée d'en faire la démonstration ; les documents n'en avaient guère gardé le souvenir. Mais Timothée avait été établi évêque d'Éphèse ; S. Jean y avait vécu et y était mort. Tout le monde devait comprendre qu'ils s'étaient connus et avaient travaillé à la même œuvre apostolique. Il suffisait donc, s'est dit l'hagiographe, de montrer comment S. Jean était arrivé dans la métropole, ce qu'il y avait fait, comme quoi il y avait même séjourné deux fois et avait repris la succession de son disciple et ami après la mort de ce dernier.

¹ *Kleine Schriften*, t.c., p. 85. Usener croit avoir trouvé une confirmation de ses vues sur ces prétendues Annales dans la Passion de S. Agathonicus (*Bibliotheca hagiographica græca* ², 40). Nous avons, ailleurs (*Analecta Bollandiana*, t. XXXI, pp. 245-247), étudié cette pièce médiocre sans y rien trouver qui donne un appui à son système, rien surtout qui justifie cette appréciation que la Passion d'Agathonicus appartiendrait à la meilleure époque du quatrième siècle et pourrait être comptée parmi les "Acta sincera" au même titre que n'importe quelle relation non officielle, *Kleine Schriften*, t.c., pp. 86-89.

Il n'a pas fallu recourir à des Annales de l'Église d'Éphèse pour trouver ces renseignements. Comme l'a bien montré Lipsius, il suffisait de quelques lectures superficielles des histoires en vogue, complétées par des combinaisons et des développements fantaisistes, pour tirer des Actes apocryphes de S. Jean l'histoire du naufrage et de l'arrivée à Éphèse ; et des textes d'Irénée, cités par Eusèbe, les principaux détails concernant l'apôtre et une chronologie des événements. Les éléments du curieux passage sur l'origine des Évangiles, qu'Usener regardait comme reproduisant une des plus anciennes légendes de l'Église d'Asie, ont été donnés par Eusèbe, librement interprété et paraphrasé.¹ Tout cela est complété par l'épisode final des *Καταγώγια*, que rien n'empêche de regarder comme fourni par la tradition locale, sans que l'on soit obligé d'y rattacher la personne de Timothée.

Nos Actes ne sont donc qu'un récit factice, fait de pièces rapportées, dans un cadre de convention. L'auteur a choisi la forme d'une lettre envoyée aux Églises d'Asie, comme celle de l'Église de Smyrne sur la mort de S. Polycarpe et la circulaire des Églises de Vienne et de Lyon sur le martyre de S. Pothin et de ses compagnons. Pour donner plus de crédit à cette histoire, il se fait passer pour Polycrate, le célèbre évêque d'Éphèse de la fin du second siècle. Notre hagiographe est donc un simple compilateur et de plus un faussaire—un bien gros mot peut-être étant données les mœurs littéraires d'autrefois.

Mais si l'on ne peut lui accorder créance pour la partie des Actes où l'emprunt est manifeste, ne faut-il pas accepter comme historique le seul détail qui se rapporte directement à Timothée et dont la couleur locale est bien marquée : le martyre du saint durant une fête païenne où tous les excès étaient tolérés ? On serait porté à l'admettre si l'épisode était rapporté par un auteur qui fait preuve par ailleurs d'avoir puisé à de bonnes sources et n'est pas obligé d'aller chercher ses renseignements à côté du sujet. Mais le pseudo-Polycrate n'inspire aucune confiance, et nous connaissons le procédé, pratiqué par plus d'un de ses émules, d'introduire comme élément d'intérêt dans des récits de fantaisie quelque incident dont le caractère historique ne peut guère faire de doute, sous réserve qu'il n'a aucun rapport avec le héros. Nous ne

¹ Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, t. I, pp. 443-444 ; t. II, 2, pp. 377-378.

rappellerons qu'un seul exemple, celui des Actes fabuleux de S. Dasius, dans lesquels se trouve inséré un passage sur les Saturnales, de provenance inconnue, mais qui a aussitôt attiré l'attention des historiens.¹

Pour décider que le récit de la mort de Timothée fait écho à une tradition sérieuse et n'est pas une simple combinaison de l'hagiographe, il faudrait une raison solide que nous cherchons en vain. Sauf le cas exceptionnel où nous sommes renseignés par un document contemporain, nous n'avons pas de détails sur les derniers moments des martyrs et sur le genre de mort qu'ils ont subi. La mémoire populaire ne retient que les faits qui lui sont constamment rappelés par les monuments et les institutions. Si elle n'oublie pas que le saint est mort martyr, c'est qu'elle peut visiter son tombeau, et que tous les ans on célèbre son anniversaire. Quel plus illustre exemple peut-on apporter d'un fait, à première vue si étrange, que celui des saints de Rome, célèbres entre tous, mais dont l'histoire n'a retenu que les noms et la date du martyre ?

On ne manquera pas de nous opposer la précision avec laquelle le biographe de S. Timothée indique la date de la mort du saint, le trente du quatrième mois selon les Asiatiques, le 22 janvier d'après les Romains, *μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας τῶν καλουμένων Καταγωγίων*. La relation entre l'anniversaire du martyre et la fête païenne est expressément notée. N'est-ce pas la preuve qu'il existait une tradition à ce sujet ?

Pour reconnaître à pareille tradition une valeur historique, il faudrait qu'elle remontât au jour même de la mort du saint, ou si l'on veut, à l'année suivante, lorsque pour la première fois on fit mémoire de lui dans la liturgie. Mais l'institution de l'anniversaire d'un martyr au I^{er} siècle est un fait qui a besoin d'être prouvé. Souvenons nous que le culte dans son plein développement comporte deux éléments : l'honneur rendu au tombeau et la commémoration annuelle. Nous constatons que dans les temps antiques la fête proprement dite n'est parfois instituée que plus tard, ainsi à Rome pour les apôtres Pierre et Paul.² Sans aucun doute, à Éphèse on désignait l'endroit où reposait Timothée. En 356 l'empereur Constance fit enlever les reliques du disciple des apôtres, pour les

¹ H. Delehay, *Les Passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires*, pp. 321-328.

² H. Delehay, *Origines du culte des martyrs*², pp. 263-269.

transférer à Constantinople, où les plus grands honneurs leur étaient réservés.¹ Rien n'indique qu'à ce moment le culte de Timothée eût à Éphèse franchi la première étape, et que le jour de son anniversaire amenât à son tombeau la foule des fidèles. Bien au contraire. On ne conçoit pas que l'empereur ait pu faire enlever d'autorité le corps d'un saint dont la fête était établie et célébrée suivant les rites. Il est fort probable que la gloire de S. Timothée était éclipsée par celle de S. Jean, et que les agents de l'empereur chargés de trouver des corps saints pour l'Ἀποστολεῖον, où l'on ne voyait jusque-là que des cénotaphes, lui signalèrent qu'à Éphèse un personnage apostolique ne recevait pas les honneurs qui lui étaient dûs. Il voulut se charger de réparer cette négligence, fit venir à Constantinople les reliques de S. Timothée, qui fut bientôt rejoint par S. André et S. Luc.

Il paraît probable que l'initiative impériale fut l'origine du culte de S. Timothée chez les Ephésiens, qui comprirent alors quel trésor ils avaient perdu. Ne voulant pas être en reste avec Constantinople, ils instituèrent une fête en l'honneur de S. Timothée et bâtirent un μαρτύριον au lieu où tout d'abord se trouvait son tombeau. La raison qui fit choisir pour la fête la date du 22 janvier nous est tout aussi obscure que celle qui, à Rome, fit placer la fête des apôtres Pierre et Paul au 29 juin. A Éphèse la solennité se trouva tomber dans la saison où l'on continuait à célébrer, sous une forme bien atténuée sans doute, les Καταγώγια, comme à Rome subsistèrent assez longtemps après le triomphe de l'Église, les Lupercalia ; plus exactement, c'est trois jours après la fête populaire qu'avait lieu la fête religieuse.² Ne serait-il pas permis de conjecturer que cette circonstance suggéra à l'hagiographe le dénouement dramatique de son récit, et que ce n'est pour nulle autre raison que la fête de Dionysos figure comme épisode dans les Actes de Timothée ?

¹ H. Delehaye, *Origines du culte des martyrs*², p. 55.

² Le martyrologe hiéronymien annonce la fête de S. Timothée le 27 septembre. *Commentarius perpetuus in martyrologium hieronymianum* (Bruxelles, 1931), p. 528. Nous n'avons trouvé aucune explication de cette date.

PLAUTUS COMMENTS ON ANATOLIAN AFFAIRS

by TENNEY FRANK

It has not been noticed, I think, that both Ennius and Plautus contain allusions to Scipio's invasion of Asia in 190-189 B.C. when he planned to attack Antiochus the Great. In Plautus' *Bacchides*, 926-974, Chrysalus in a long *canticum*, which certainly was not in Menander, compares his successful tricks to those by which Troy was captured. He is Ulysses as well as Agamemnon. He has captured the palladium, slain Troilus, and constructed a Trojan horse. In l. 932, he uses a line of Ennius, citing it almost word for word (Enn., 99, V) :

O pater, o patria, o Priami domus,

which would seem to indicate that Plautus was referring to a tragedy of Ennius on the theme of Troy's fall. The line in Ennius actually was inspired by the *Andromache* of Euripides, and the play of Ennius was doubtless his *Andromache*, which seems to have been fashioned from three plays of Euripides, the *Andromache*, the *Hecuba*, and the *Trojan Women*.

Now Plautus apparently does not make elaborate references to Greek myths unless he knows that his audience has recently become familiar with the story by seeing it presented in some tragedy. His *Bacchides*, according to Ritschl, was probably performed in 189, and we may therefore assume that the *Andromache* of Ennius should be dated in 189 or the year before. Ennius would have been very likely to have presented a Trojan play that year in honour of his patron Scipio, who was then crossing the Hellespont to attack Antiochus the Great somewhere near the plains of Troy. The people of Rome were of course excitedly awaiting news since Antiochus was thought to be a very formidable foe. Scipio himself felt that the situation was unusually significant, for as soon as he had crossed into Asia (Livy, 37, 37) he at once ascended to the citadel

of Ilium, sacrificed to Athena, and spoke with dramatic effect to the citizens of the town, reminding them that Troy was the ancestral city of Rome, that Rome was proud of such parentage, and that his army had come to set Ilium free.

When Ennius combined the best parts of three plays of Euripides to picture the fall of Troy in a play which was still a favourite in Cicero's day, the Romans were doubtless impressed, and the full meaning of Scipio's expedition was brought home to the audience. It is therefore not surprising that Plautus, in a comedy following soon after Ennius' tragedy, should make such elaborate use in a *canticum* of the details of the Trojan story, a story that the holiday public of Rome had good reason to find of special import at the time. We may add that the *Pseudolus* of Plautus, which was played not long afterwards, also contains several references to the story of Troy: the play of Ennius had evidently made an impression that lasted several months. It should perhaps be added that whereas Ennius wrote his tragedy in order to honour Scipio, Plautus, who was something less than a worshipper of this hero, introduced a note of parody, or at least of irreverence into his comedy.

I have shown elsewhere (*AJP*, 1932, 152 ff.) that in the *Trinummus* also Plautus took the occasion to write disparagingly of the Scipios at a time when they were being severely attacked by Cato. Let me add here that near the end of his life Plautus in the *Truculentus* wrote a few bitter words about Ennius who had recently lauded Fulvius Nobilior, a member of the Scipionic group, in the *praetexta*, *Ambracia*. We know that Fulvius took Ennius on his staff to the siege of Ambracia in 188, and presumably Ennius' play was presented at the triumphal games in 187. The play gave very high praise to Fulvius who was just then being severely criticized by Cato. In the *Truculentus* (l. 465) Stratophanes, a boastful soldier, says: "I know many military men who are mendacious; one could mention Homerionides [i.e. the imitator of Homer] and many others who have told of fictitious battles." This of course refers to Ennius who in his *Annals* had claimed to be inspired by Homer. Moreover, the implication of the line is that the *Ambracia* had considerably exaggerated the achievements of Fulvius and Ennius. Since Plautus presented his irreverent *Amphitruo* very soon afterwards (see Janne, *Rev. Belge*, 1933), I think we may safely surmise that

the humorous account of a battle given there by Sosia (ll. 197-247) probably travesties a scene in the *Ambracia*.

Be that as it may, Plautus' depreciative reference to Ennius in the *Truculentus* seems to fall in line with his irreverent remarks about Scipio in his *Bacchides* and *Trinummus*. In other words, we find that when Ennius was doing his best to support Scipio while Cato was forming a strong party to oppose the Scipionic policy, Plautus, in sympathy with the Catonian group, presented comedies that contained travesties on the heroizing plays of Ennius. He thus awakened irreverent laughter that must have played some part in weakening the popularity of the Scipios. In 185 Cato won his battle by election to the censorship, and the year after Scipio acknowledged defeat by withdrawing into retirement at Liternum.

In view of this evidence regarding Plautus' sympathies during the years 190-187, it is interesting to find that some twelve years earlier Plautus had expressed a different view on the eastern policy of the Scipionic group. In a deferred prologue of the *Cistellaria* (ll. 198-202), Auxilium, after telling the plot, addresses the audience as follows: "Farewell, and win your victories by true valour as heretofore. Protect your allies old and new, and aid your auxiliaries by just dealing, lay low your enemies, win laud and praise and let the conquered Carthaginians feel your righteous wrath." This must be dated in the year 201 when Carthage had surrendered, but when the terms of the indemnity were still under discussion at Rome. The line "servate vestros socios veteres et novos" points to the fact that envoys had already come from Attalus and Rhodes appealing for help against Philip, that is some time in 201. The Senate deferred its answer, but that the Philhellenic policy of Scipio was then debated with favour is proved by the election of Sulpicius as consul that autumn, obviously with a view to his taking the command against Macedonia. This passage in the *Cistellaria* therefore definitely dates the play in 201; it shows Plautus' sympathies towards the Scipionic programme at that time. Moreover, it proves that this party looked upon Attalus and Rhodes as *socii*. That is important, because modern historians with almost one accord have charged Livy with carelessness in calling them *socii et amici*. Probably the Senate used this very phrase even if it stretched the juridical conception of the words. When war is breaking out one is

generous to one's prospective associates. If Plautus, writing while the discussion was on, called these powers *socii*, then the official documents doubtless called them so, and Livy was probably correct. The view of Plautus is unmistakable.

It is because of references like these that I believe we have been quite mistaken about Plautus when we have assumed that he was merely a translator of Greek comedies who took no interest in contemporaneous events. It would seem on the contrary that he took a vital interest in the politics of his day and that, despite the danger he incurred by using the national stage to present his own views, he did openly favour the Philhellenic policy in 201, though later, when it was being carried to dangerous lengths, he gave sympathetic support to the party of Cato which criticized Scipio.

SOME NOTES ON THE COINAGE OF CYPRUS

by GEORGE HILL

ALTHOUGH the archaeology of Cyprus does not come strictly within the scope of this volume, it will be agreed by all those who are acquainted with the work of the scholar in whose honour it is printed that he has distinguished himself in that field as well as in Asia Minor.¹ There is, therefore, some excuse for offering as a contribution a few notes which have been made in the course of collecting material for a history of the island.

EUELTHON OF SALAMIS

The coinage of ancient Cyprus during its association with the Persian Empire accurately reflects the indefinite sort of independence which it enjoyed. The royal status of the rulers of its cities was respected; when Euagoras I negotiated for peace, it was as a king (subordinate, it is true, to the Great King) that he insisted on being recognized. When in the sixth century the Cypriote rulers begin to issue money never does the figure of the Great King appear on it, as it does elsewhere, in Phoenicia, or Cilicia or Caria,² and there is nothing in the types or symbols of the coins, Oriental though some may be in origin, which can be taken as proving a political relation to the Empire. (The question of standard is another matter, to be discussed below.) It is a purely autonomous coinage, and such an institution is one of the prerogatives of sovereignty. Gold was not issued, it is true, by any Cypriote king before Euagoras I, but that means little, because the issue of gold

¹ E.g. "Frescoes at Galata, Cyprus" (*JHS*, 53, 1933); "The Church of Asinou, Cyprus, and its Frescoes," in collaboration with the Bishop of Gibraltar, Major Vivian Seymer and Mrs. Buckler (*Archaeologia*, 83, 1934); "Documents from Phrygia and Cyprus" (*JHS*, 55, 1935).

² Spyridakis, *Euagoras I*, p. 98.

by Greeks before the last years of the fifth century was, for other reasons, excessively rare.

The institution of coinage, which had been familiar in western Asia Minor and the Aegean for centuries, was adopted in Cyprus during the reign of Euelthon of Salamis, who struck in his own name the first silver money in the island. He used a standard practically indistinguishable from (though, if anything, slightly heavier than) that which was eventually employed for the imperial Persian coinage.¹ That currency may not have been instituted before the time of Darius I; but the weight system to which it conformed must have been in use among the Persians before the introduction of coinage. Presumably the tribute received from the various provinces would be reduced to terms of this standard, in whatever forms or denominations it was originally received. The use of the Persian standard in a Persian province, though not a necessity,² would thus be convenient. It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that Euelthon adopted the standard because he had come under Persian suzerainty; so that we may date the introduction of coinage at Salamis about 538. It precedes by a century more or less the introduction of coinage in Phoenicia. The date of Euelthon's accession is unknown, and 560, which is usually accepted, is a mere guess. That he was the most powerful, if not the supreme, ruler of the island, is indicated by his plentiful coinage,³ on some issues of which, indeed, he seems to claim sovereignty over the whole of the Cypriotes. The obverse type of all his coins, as of those of his successors down to the time of Euagoras I, is a ram or a ram's head. When a reverse type is used, it is the *ankh*-symbol, which is borrowed from Egypt, presumably as indicating his royal status. And within the ring of the

¹ The heaviest known Cypriote coin is of 11.56 gm., which thus outweighs two Persian silver shekels of the normal weight of 5.6 gm., and is very little less than twice the heaviest known shekel of 5.88 gm.

² The standard was in use in Phoenicia, for Aradus, when it began to issue money towards the end of the fifth century, adopted it, although it was not necessary to do so, seeing that other Phoenician cities had already begun to strike on the Phoenician standard. The large sums involved in tribute payments would, of course, be checked by weight, not counted in coins.

³ *BM Cat., Cyprus*, pp. lxxxv ff. The classification is largely conjectural, and it is not certain that the coins with types on both sides are necessarily all later than those with a flat reverse. See Robinson in *Num. Chr.*, 1935, p. 185, and Herzfeld in *Trans. Int. Num. Congr.*, 1936, p. 414 (foundation deposit from Persepolis, dating about 515).

ankh is the Cypriote sign *Kv*—so that the design proclaims him King of Cyprus.¹

The ram has been explained as alluding to Persia,² which, according to the oldest astrological geography, was under the sign of Aries. But so was Egypt.³ Both Euelthon's types, therefore, may have been Egyptian in origin. This is not incompatible with the view expressed above that he adopted the Persian standard for his coinage because he had become a vassal of Persia; for types may be adopted for cultural reasons, while commercial or political interests dictate the choice of monetary standards.

MARION AND SOLI

Both Marion and Soli were cities of strong Hellenic sympathies; but their history in the fifth century is diversified by the intrusion of Persian or pro-Persian elements, if we accept the ingenious reconstruction which has been made by Gjerstad on the basis of the Swedish excavations at Vouni.⁴

There are no coins attributable to Soli struck in the fifth century, except possibly quite at the beginning of that period. But it is interesting, in view of the known Hellenic sympathies of that city, to note that among the types of Cypriote coins issued in the years round the Ionian Revolt—in which Eretria and Athens were the only cities of the Greek mainland to take part—are two, the gorgoneion and the cuttle-fish, which may be due to the influence of Athens and Eretria, and that there is some reason for the attribution of these coins to Soli.⁵ After the failure of the Revolt in Cyprus, only Soli held out for five months, until the Persians took it by mining the fortifications. Since the earliest palace and fortifications on the hill of Vouni⁶ date from about this time, the suggestion has been made that it was fortified by the Persians to overawe

¹ The sign might stand equally well for *Tv* or *Xv*, but it is not likely that it is the initial of the city of Chytri.

² Spyridakis, p. 93.

³ Gundel in *RE*, XI, col. 1879, 1881.

⁴ *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, III, pp. 110, 287-288.

⁵ See, especially for the cuttle-fish type, Robinson on the Larnaka hoard, *Num. Chr.*, 1935, p. 187.

⁶ That Vouni is Aipeia was first suggested by Oberhummer in *Ztschr. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde*, Berlin, 25, 1890, p. 38. If this is right, as it seems to be, the story of the removal of the original settlement from Aipeia to Soli at the suggestion of Solon cannot be accepted (*Plut., Sol.*, 26), since there is no trace of settlement on Vouni earlier than about 500.

the Philhellene Soli, which then ceased to strike coins. Marion, on the other hand, also received, it is supposed, a pro-Persian ruler. For, in spite of its previous Greek sympathies, Kimon found it necessary to reduce it as one of the first operations of his expedition some fifty years later. Now Marion had been issuing coins in this first half of the fifth century, and it is significant that in addition to the inscription in the Cypriote syllabary, which fixes the attribution to Marion, they bear also Phoenician letters.¹ Some Phoenician ruler, therefore, drawn probably from Kition or Lapethos, must have been installed in the city. This state of things was reversed, it would seem, after Kimon took the city. The coins of Stasioikos and Timocharis, dating from the second half of the century, show no signs of Phoenician lettering. What is more, a new palace, in which traces of a more Hellenic style are found by the excavators, arose on Vouni, and a temple of Athena was also built at the same time. It is suggested that the kings of Marion occupied the place. In a remarkable hoard which was found in the ruins of the palace, which was finally destroyed at the beginning of the fourth century, there is a very large proportion of coins of these very kings of Marion. But that, it must be admitted, proves no more than close trade-relations.

For a time, during the first three-quarters of the fourth century, Marion ceased to issue coins, resuming only under Stasioikos II, who is first heard of in 315, although he had probably been reigning then for some time. Soli, also, although it shows signs of revival about 391, when it gave Euagoras some trouble, does not seem to have issued any coins until the time of Pasikrates (who was with Alexander at Tyre in 331); his predecessors on the throne were probably Stasikrates and his father Stasias, who issued no coins, but are known from inscriptions. Lapethos also, whose Phoenician rulers seem to have been issuing money in the middle of the fifth century, had no coinage, so far as we know, in the fourth. It is a reasonable supposition that the suppression of coinage in these three important cities, with all that it involves in the way of loss of independence, may be attributed to the domination of Salamis.

¹ Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, I, 1², p. 223 n., had doubted Phoenician influence at Marion. Robinson, in *Num. Chr.*, 1932, p. 210, has proved the Phoenician inscriptions on the coins.

IDALION

The famous bronze tablet of Idalion,¹ has been referred to the time of the Ionian Revolt.² This early dating seems to me less likely than one about half a century later. The tablet is reported to have been found by treasure-diggers on the top-plateau of the Western Acropolis of Idalion.³ Reports of provenance of this kind are notoriously untrustworthy, but the Swedish excavators are inclined to accept this one. They are also convinced, on the evidence of the pottery, that this acropolis was deserted not later than 470. Now the tablet refers to a siege by the "Medes and Kitians," during which the physician Onasilos, son of Onasikypros, and his brothers had been compelled to tend the wounded without fee, and records the payment to them of an indemnity by the king Stasikypros and the city. The fact that the king Stasikypros was still reigning when the tablet was inscribed shows that the siege was unsuccessful. The Swedish excavators, trusting the report of the finding of the tablet, and concluding that it must be earlier than 470, since the acropolis, they hold, was deserted then, observe that the Revolt of 499-498 is the only known historical event with which the circumstances described in the tablet can be connected. If this is correct, it follows that there must have been a king Stasikypros reigning before that date. But it may not be quite correct, for we know very little of the history of Cyprus between the Revolt and Kimon's last expedition, except the temporary recovery of the island from the Persians after Mykale, in 478, and the fighting there in 459-458, mentioned in a well-known Attic inscription.⁴ There may have been plenty of occasions for an attack on Idalion by Kition, after 499-498, and before the one which finally succeeded, when Azbaal, son of Baalmelek I, conquered the place. Azbaal's conquest is inferred from the well-known dedicatory inscription from Idalion, dated in the third

¹ GDI, I, No. 60; Hoffmann, No. 135.

² So Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, III, p. 305; Oberhammer, art. *Idalion*, in *RE*, IX, 868; Gjerstad, in *Swedish Cyprus Exp.*, II, p. 625; Spyridakis (in *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί*, I, 1937, pp. 73 ff.) gives the impression that he would have liked, in accordance with his recognition of Athenian influence on the Idalian constitution, to give the lowest possible date as 456, the year of the failure of the Athenian expedition to Egypt, but, being unwilling to dispute the "archaeological" evidence, he is forced to regard it as not later than 470.

³ SCE, II, p. 462.

⁴ Tod, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.*, No. 26.

year of Baalmelek (II), king of Kition and Idalion, son of Azbaal, king of Kition and Idalion, son of Baalmelek (I), king of Kition.¹ Azbaal and his successors continued to rule over Idalion until the general suppression of the kingdoms of Cyprus. When precisely Azbaal took it, we do not know. The Swedish excavators associate the desertion of the Western Acropolis with this conquest, and therefore date it to 470. That means that Azbaal was already king of Kition by 470. (Numismatists have hitherto assigned him to about 445-425.) And here we must consider the evidence of the coins.

The Larnaka hoard, published by Dikaios and Robinson, was buried very shortly after 480.² It contained no coins of Baalmelek I, although it was buried on the site of his own city. There is, it is true, often a time-lag to be allowed for in hoards (the latest coin in a hoard being possibly many years earlier than the actual date of deposit), but this cannot be lightly assumed in the case of local coinage. We may therefore take it that Baalmelek I did not begin to reign until after 480. This confirms the traditional date, about 479, assigned to him. Unfortunately, we do not know how long he reigned. Unless he was succeeded by Azbaal after a very short reign, it is clear that the capture of Idalion by Azbaal cannot have taken place very soon after 480.

What, however, do the coins of Idalion tell us? They form a closely-knit series, beginning shortly before 500, to judge from their style, and going down to the fall of the city. If that, as the Swedish excavators believe, took place about 470, we have but thirty years for the following series:—

- (a) Uninscribed; incuse reverse.
- (b) King O . na . sa . . . ; incuse reverse.
- (c) King Ki . . . ; lotus reverse.
- (d) King Ka . ra . . . ; lotus reverse.
- (e) King Sa . . . ; lotus reverse.

Of these, three classes, (a), (b), and (c), were represented in the Larnaka hoard, which was buried about 480—some ten coins of

¹ Berger, *CR Acad. Inscr.*, 1887, pp. 203-210; Euting, *S. B. Berl. Akad.*, 1887, pp. 420-422.

² *Num. Chr.*, 1935, p. 190. Newell (in the article mentioned in the next note) publishes more staters of Kition from the same hoard, but they bear no king's name, and precede Baalmelek I.

(a) or (b), seventeen of (b), and nine of (c).¹ But of (c) only the first issue is represented in the hoard, not the later issues which seem to give a second syllable (*vo*) of the king's name. So Ki . . . evidently reigned for some time after 480. It is to be noted that as blanks for these latest issues he used coins of Baalmelek I.

If the date 499-498 is correct for the unsuccessful siege in the reign of Stasikypros, his coins, if he struck any, must belong to series (a). We should thus have the following sequence:—

Before and after 499-498 Stasikypros.

Before 480 Onasa . . .

Before and after 480 Ki . . .

Between 480 and 470 Kara . . . and Sa . . .

That would be five kings in one generation, with two reigns and a bit of a third crowded into the last decade, which is, to say the least, a record for which there are few parallels.²

The alternative is to identify the Stasikypros of the tablet with the Sa . . . of series (e), and to extend the period of Idalion's independence and coinage to about 450-445 (there is no need, as I once thought,³ to bring it down later), dating its fall to after the failure of Kimon's expedition in 449. If we accept the evidence of the pottery for the desertion of the Western Acropolis in 470 rather than twenty years later, this involves the assumption that the kings of Idalion continued to rule on the Eastern Acropolis, and that the tablet was not, after all, found where it was said to have been. There is also the possibility, if one may venture to suggest it, that the dating of the pottery may be out by some twenty years. It may be due to the prejudice of a numismatist, but I am inclined to accept this last assumption in preference to the supposition that the Larnaka hoard was "closed" some ten or twenty years before it was buried.

The Idalion tablet is dated in the year of the eponymous magistrate Philokypros son of Onasagoras. Robinson suggests that this

¹ These figures would be considerably increased if details were available of the coins from the hoard which escaped the authorities: Newell, in *Numism. Notes and Monographs*, No. 82, p. 14, n. 13.

² At Salamis, if Herodotus (V, 104) is right, there seem to have been three successions from Euclthon to Gorgos (who was reigning in 499), but the interval available is between twenty and thirty years.

³ *BM Cat., Cyprus*, p. lii.

Onasagoras may have been the king Onasa . . . of the coins of series (b) ; but it would suit the date we assign to the tablet if he were a later bearer of the same name. This seems the more likely, as he is not given the royal title.

Since the kings of Kition held Idalion from Azbaal to Pumiathon, the theory which brings the tablet down to the fourth century ¹ must be unhesitatingly rejected.

A PTOLEMAIC COIN

Finally, a word on a coin of Paphos ² which has been used in connexion with a disputed point in the history of Cyprus. It bears a double date, equating the first year of a newly-associated king with the thirty-sixth of Philometor, and showing that in that year, 146-145, Philometor must have placed on the throne a second son (Eupator, who had been associated as early as April, 152, was dead by July, 150), doubtless on the eve of his departure on his fatal expedition to Syria.

With regard to this piece, it is necessary to emphasize three facts. First, like all the coins of the Paphian mint at this time, it is an issue of the regal Ptolemaic coinage ; it bears no evidence of having been issued by anyone as king in Cyprus, or as viceroy, though it does prove that a new king came to the throne in that year.³ Second, the equation cannot be between the thirty-sixth year of Philometor and the first of his successor (i.e. Physkon). Such dating would be admissible in, say, a private papyrus or epitaph, but not on a coin ; for a coin is issued in the name of a reigning king, who does not mention his predecessor, though, if he is a co-regent, he naturally mentions the year of his colleague. The

¹ Larfeld, quoted by Judeich, *Kleinas. Stud.*, p. 125, n. 1 ; Meister, *Gr. Dial.*, II, pp. 105 ff. ; cp. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, I, ii², p. 107.

² *BM Cat.*, *Ptolemies*, p. lxxvii, Pl. XXXII, 9 ; Svoronos, No. 1509 ; Regling, in *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, XXV, 1906, p. 381, where an absurd notion of Svoronos is refuted. The coin is dated ΛΑϚ ΚΑΙ Α, and has the mint-mark ΠΑ.

³ Kings who ruled in Cyprus, such as Physkon, Lathyros, Alexander I, and "Ptolemy, King of Cyprus," had their own coinage and own regnal dating. But, as regards their coinage, it must be observed that the types are not altered from those in use in Egypt. They are the types of the Ptolemaic dynasty. Since the coinage is the most public expression of royal prerogative, we may take it that the claim of such a ruler to the whole kingdom, confined though he may have been *de facto* to Cyprus, was never really relinquished. Generally speaking, we are too prone to speak of kings "of Egypt," "of Syria," and so on. It would be more consonant with ancient ideas to say "in Egypt," etc.

equation then can only mean that the two kings were reigning at the same time. Third, it is really to Philometor's and not to Physkon's thirty-sixth year that the coin belongs. Svoronos preferred the latter date, but Newell has proved, by the evidence of a hoard, that the earlier is correct.¹ Bouché-Leclercq's doubt² whether the A on this and on an analogous coin of 121³ is really a regnal date is baseless. Otto⁴ discusses the possibility of the double date on the coin of 146-145 referring not to an associated king but to the conquest of Syria, but, as I think rightly, rejects it.

¹ "Two Recent Egyptian Hoards," in *Numism. Notes and Monographs*, No. 33, 1927, p. 124 f.

² *Hist. des Lagides*, II, p. 81, n. 1.

³ *BM Cat. Ptolemies*, No. 99, p. 96; Svoronos, No. 1526.

⁴ *Zur Gesch. der Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers in Abh. Bay. Akad., Phil.-hist. Abt. N.F. Heft XI*, 1934, p. 128, n. 4.



Honorary monument at Brussa.

DE BITHYNIAE TITULO HONORARIO

DISSERUIT J. J. E. HONDIUS

BUCKLERI in honorem dissertationem a me petentibus viris doctis deesse nec potui nec debui. Nam viri de studiis epigraphicis optime meriti nobilisque suae indolis thesauros unicuique quam liberalissime suppeditantis colendi facultatem quis non ardentem arriperet? Ergo statim adstipulatus sum. Sed quid in medium proferrem? In Asia nullus sum; et elaboratius quominus aliquid componerem, Congressus Epigraphici impediverunt curae. Adiuvit autem Fortuna. Misit Athenis e nostratibus vir doctus quidam nomine Ianus den Tex tabulam lucis ope factam tituli Graeci in museo Prusensi asservati, qua tabula freti cum de titulo,¹ tum de ipso monumento certius nunc iudicare possumus. Imaginem habes infra, Pl. III.

Ἀγαθὴ τύχη.

Θρεπτήρα Μουσῶν καὶ λόγων κοσμήτορα
Κορνοῦτον οὕτω Φέρμος ἀντημείψατο.

Stela, in qua titulus scriptus est, profecta est e monumento aliquo sepulcrali, cuius frontis dextram partem tenuisse videtur. Pertinebat monumentum ad eos sarcophagos, quos Asianos nuncupare solemus, de quibus fusius egit C. R. Morey.² Exemplum exhibet stili, quem vulgo vocant Lydium (quod indicant inter alia

¹ Titulum in vico Tachtali (in radicibus septemtrionalibus montis Olympi, tres fere horas a Prusa, sito) in ecclesia S. Theodori primus descripsit nec tamen edidit Faulkner Smyrnaeus, qui apographum dedit Covelio, in cuius schedis in Museo Britannico adservatis exstat, *Add. MS.* 22,914. Quod fugit primum editorem J. A. Munro, *JHS*, XVII, 1897, p. 268, n. 1; commemorat F. W. Hasluck, *BSA*, XIII, 1906/7, p. 299, qui titulum III p. Chr. saeculo attribuit.

² *Sardis*, V, 1, 1924; cf. tabulam geographicam Fig. 139, ubi loca quibus huius modi sarcophagi inventi sunt composita habes. Adde, *MAMA*, IV, p. 82, A, tab. 23-25 = *Arch. Anz.*, 1930, p. 464.

et capitulorum et cymationum formae atque usus torni, non terebrae), qualia monumenta inde ab exeunte saeculo II p. Chr. sive Ephesi facta in loca ad mare vel prope mare sita (velut in oppida Bithyniae Nicomediam, Nicaeam, Cyzicum) exportabantur, sive aliis locis ab artificibus circumeuntibus fiebant. Utcumque vel Cyzico vel Nicaea monumentum nostrum Prusam missum esse verisimile videtur. E servatis monumentis Asianis nostro similimus est sarcophagus Synnadae inventus, quem editores saeculo II p. Chr. exeunti tribuunt.¹ Monumento Prusensi eadem fere aetate facto postea usus est Firmus, qui partem desecandam levigandamque curavit, ut titulum reciperet. Quem titulum non ante saeculi III p. Chr. partem posteriorem scriptum esse litterae, praesertim ΑΕΩ, produnt. Deinde lapidem tertium adhibitum esse, ut fontem ornaret, foramen sub concho factum indicare videtur.

Iam videamus de titulo. Cornutum nostrum se recognosse putat Hasluck in carmine Cyzici invento, quo Cornutus archon eponymus statuam in honorem Nestoris poetae se conficiendam curasse tradit.² Hunc autem Nestora quem peregrinum fuisse docet eiusdem carminis v. 6, non diversum esse ab Nestore Larendensi qui Suida teste³ imperitante Severo (h. e. Septimio Severo, 193-211 p. Chr.) vixit, cuiusque carmina supersunt *Anth. Pal.*, IX, nn. 129, 364, fortasse etiam 128, 536 (vide infra), 537, putavit Kaibel. Eundem in titulo Ephesio saeculi II p. Chr.⁴ recognovit L. Robert,⁵ cui saeculo titulus noster litterarum ratione habita nullo modo adiudicari poterit. Ergo aut titulus Cyzicenus, qui periit nec nisi ex apographo, unde de vera litterarum forma nil lucramur, notus est, recentiori aetati attribuendus est, aut alterius hoc loco Cornuti mentionem fieri apparet. Quaeri sane potest, num Nestor monumenti Cyziceni idem sit atque Nestor Nicaeensis cui debemus carmen *Anth. Pal.*, IX, 537, ad quod allusit Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Ep.* 36 : fuit enim Gregorius Nicaeae a. fere 379, quod cum nostri tituli aetate optime congrueret. Sed hunc

¹ MAMA, IV, l.c.

² CIG, 3671 ; Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 880 ; IGR, IV, 164 ; Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 268, nn. 21 et 35.

³ s.v. Νέστορ Λαρενδεύς. Cf. RE, XVII, pp. 125/6.

⁴ *Forsch. in Ephesos*, III, p. 150, n. 67.

⁵ *Rev. Phil.*, XVI, 1930, p. 41, 2, n. XXVI.

Nestorem non diversum esse ab homonymo Larandensi plerisque persuasum est.¹

Fuit Cornutus noster "Musarum altor" atque "orationum exornator." Illud vel poetam indicat, eum nempe, qui olim a Musis altus² nunc ipse Musas alit,³ vel potius artis poeticae magistrum. Orationum autem exornator vel is dicitur, qui suas ipsius orationes exornandas curat, vel potius is, qui alios verba recte componendi artem docet, h. e. artis oratoriae magister. Nam voce λόγων vulgo denotatur prosa oratio contraria carmini, quod in hoc ipso disticho propter antithesin Μουσῶν—λόγων dilucide apparet. Verisimile igitur est Cornutum fuisse artis poeticae et rhetoricae magistrum, a quo Firmus et versus pangendi et orationes habendi artem didicit. Quod ad artem poeticam attinet, iam Munro recte adnotavit: "the metrical form of the inscription is meant as a compliment to Cornutus, from whom Firmus learnt the art of writing verses." Cornutum versus quidem pangendi praecepta haud sine fructu suo olim discipulo tradidisse constat: versiculi enim elegantes sunt ac brevitate veram exhibent ἔμφασιν.

Quaeritur demum ad quod monumentorum genus hi versus pertinuerint. Nam vocem οὕτω ad monumentum quoddam neque ad ipsos versus pertinere sponte apparet. Cogites de monumento honorario, quoniam formula ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ in sepulcralibus non nisi rarissime occurrit. Conferri possunt monumenta, quibus ephēbi Attici honorant suum κοσμητήν (vel poetice κοσμήτορα), discipuli magistrum.⁴ Simili modo Firmus noster Cornuti in honorem monumentum erigendum curavit, quo magistrum pro doctrina remuneraretur,⁵ merita illi θρεπτήρια⁶ tribuens. Qua de causa monumentum positum sit, quod gymnasii sive alius aedificii

¹ Res incerta est. Sunt qui putent gent. Νικαέως ortum esse vel ex perperam exscriptis verbis ἐκ Λυδίας (l. Λυκαονίας), vel ex oscitanter percusso fine notae Suidianae, qua Nestoris Partheniique transformationes una memorantur: Μεταμορφώσεις ὥσπερ καὶ Παρθένιος ὁ Νικαεύς. Alii, velut E. Oder, Rhein. Mus., XLVIII, 1893, pp. 9 sqq., eum postea Larandis Nicaeam demigrasse putant.

² Cf. titulum Antiochiae Pisidiae, JRS, II, 1912, p. 93, n. 22, v. 3: τὸν Μοῦσαι θρέψαντο, SEG, VI, 210, v. 6: Μούσαις ἀσκηθεῖς.

³ Cf. schol. ad Pind. Isthm. II, 9 = Kallim. frg. 77: οὐ γὰρ ἐργάτιν τρέφω τὴν Μοῦσαν ὡς ὁ Κεῖος.

⁴ Cf. IG, II², 3739 sqq., praesertim 3740 (κοσμήτορος ἐσθλοὶ ἔφηβοι), 3750, 3767, 3772.

⁵ Verbum ἀνταμείβεσθαι, quod sciam, non nisi hoc loco in bonam partem usurpatur.

⁶ Cf. e.g. Anth. Pal., I, 7, 1: ζῶντι φίλα θρεπτήρια τίνων.

publici muro immissum tibi fingas, utrum postquam magister in certaminibus quibusdam novas laudes obtinuerit an post discipuli ipsius in artibus liberalibus sive in publica vita successus, pro certo affirmare non audeo.

Rem tibi diiudicandam mando, optime Buckler, qui has observatiunculas qualescumque pro tua humanitate benigne accipias velim, verecundiae amicitiarumque pignus, *δόσιν ὀλίγην τε φίλην τε*.

CIVITATES LIBERAE ET IMMUNES IN THE EAST

by A. H. M. JONES

FREEDOM was a word to conjure with among the Greeks, and, long before the Roman Republic took up the slogan of the autonomy of the Hellenes, the kings who succeeded Alexander had time and again used the cry to rally to their side the forces of public opinion. It is little wonder therefore that a word so much handled became in time a little tarnished with wear. Free, applied to a city, should mean sovereign; and there were in the third century still a certain number of cities which were free in the true sense of the term—the Rhodians, for instance, had by resolute courage and astute diplomacy preserved genuine independence throughout the struggles of the kings, and Rhodes was still a sovereign state. But many other cities, still nominally free, were in a far different condition. Lacking the strength and skill to maintain their freedom themselves, they had accepted the specious offer of some king to guard it for them. And in the mouth of a king they soon found that freedom meant something very different from independence. The kings claimed for themselves sole sovereignty in their dominions, and in their eyes cities were part of their dominions. The general attitude of the Hellenistic kings is well illustrated by the dealings of Antiochus III with the cities of western Asia Minor. He attempted to subdue those which refused to admit his sovereignty, “on the ground,” as Appian, not unjustly if a little crudely, puts it, “that they belonged to him as ruler of Asia, because in times past also they used to obey the kings of Asia.”¹ The cities were his as part of his kingdom. Yet while thus insisting on his sovereign rights, Antiochus was, as we know both from epigraphic and literary sources, not unwilling to grant what he called freedom to the cities. From inscriptions we know that he maintained the autonomy of Iasus²

¹ *Syr.*, I.

² *OGI*, 237.

and guaranteed to Amyzon the rights that it had possessed "in the alliance of Ptolemy" ¹ when these cities passed under his sway. From Polybius we learn that when the Romans intervened Antiochus did not assert his intention to enslave the cities of Asia, but declared "that those of the cities of Asia which were autonomous ought to receive their freedom not by order of the Romans but by his own grace." ² Antiochus' attitude is perhaps most clearly brought out in his offer to Lampsacus: "They would soon have what they wanted; but only when it was clear both to themselves and to everyone else that their freedom had been granted by the king and not surreptitiously usurped." ³

Freedom was then to the kings not independence but a privileged status enjoyed by certain cities of their dominions, a status granted to them by their sovereigns. The content of this privileged status is difficult to seize. Freedom is indeed frequently defined in the manifestoes whereby the kings attempted to lure cities into their protection. ⁴ It comprised ideally three main items, the enjoyment by the city of its own or ancestral constitution, the absence of a garrison, immunity from tribute. But in practice few free cities enjoyed all these privileges. The kings very frequently arranged for some form of constitutional control, by arrogating to themselves the appointment of one or more of the chief magistrates, ⁵ by reserving to themselves the right of veto on the decrees of the assembly, ⁶ or by maintaining a royal high commissioner vested with a similar right. ⁷ Garrisons were normal: officially no doubt they were there to defend the city from enemies who might attempt to enslave it—these enemies were incidentally the suzerain's rivals—but they could also hold the citadel should the citizens disagree with their protector. Finally, most free cities subject to kings made payments of one sort or another to the royal exchequer. Sometimes these payments were disguised as contributions to a league of which

¹ *Anz. Ak. Wien*, 1920, p. 40.

² Polyb., XVIII, 51; cf. Appian, *Syr.*, 3.

³ Livy, XXXIII, 38.

⁴ E.g. Polyb., IV, 84; XV, 24.

⁵ E.g. *JHS*, 1928, p. 230 (Cyrene); *OGI*, 267 (Pergamum); but it must be admitted that neither of these cities is known to have been free.

⁶ *Jahresh.*, 1908, p. 56. Halicarnassus was certainly free, cf. Livy, XXXIII, 20.

⁷ Michel, 322 (Thessalonica); *SEG*, VII, 62 (Seleucia in Pieria). Neither of these cities is known to have been free, but *ἐπιστάται* are common in the Ptolemaic cities of Aegean: e.g. *OGI*, 44 (Thera); Michel, 395 (Syros); *IG*, XII, ii, 527 (Eresus), v, 1061 (Arsinoe of Ceos); *SEG*, II, 536 (Caria), and these were free.

the king was president. Even Alexander had demanded contributions from states members of the League of Corinth which did not furnish men or ships,¹ and Antigonos seems to have made levies in some circumstances from the members of his Hellenic League.² Yet in both these leagues the members were in the most solemn terms declared free and autonomous. Ptolemy I inherited from Antigonos in the League of the Islanders a system of levies, and though reducing the amount of the payments—at first, at least—maintained the principle; yet the Islanders speak of themselves as free in the very inscription in which they record the levies.³ Alexander also expected the cities which he had freed and garrisoned to pay for the upkeep of the garrisons;⁴ and Antigonos and Ptolemy pursued the same policy.⁵ By the end of the third century free cities were often subject to regular taxation. Polybius⁶ assures us that Thessaly was technically free under Antigonid rule, and so no doubt were the other Greek cities: but Abae in Phocis paid land tax to Philip V.⁷ Livy,⁸ employing correct diplomatic language, speaks of the Rhodians as “protecting the liberty of the cities allied to Ptolemy”; yet inscriptions and papyri amply demonstrate that the Ptolemaic cities in the Aegean were subject to systematic taxation.⁹ And Polybius can write without any sense of contradiction of “those of the autonomous cities which formerly paid tribute to Antiochus.”¹⁰

What this freedom, as granted by a king, really meant, it is rather difficult to say. It seems to have been a purely ideal conception. Whatever restraints were placed on a free city were, it is to be presumed, accepted by it voluntarily; instances are in fact known of cities requesting a garrison.¹¹ The suzerain's commands were regularly conveyed in the form of requests or advice, and were meticulously submitted to the assembly and translated into decrees of the people before being put into force.¹² The concept of freedom

¹ This seems the simplest explanation of *σύνταξις* in OGI, I.

² The word *εἰσφορά* occurs in a hopelessly mutilated passage of SEG, I, 75 (col. iii, line 11). That levies were exacted from members is made probable by their existence in the Nesiote League (see next note).

³ Syll.³, 390.

⁴ Syll.³, 283 (Chios).

⁵ GIBM, 247 (Antigonos and Cos); Syll.³, 410 (Ptolemy and Erythrae).

⁶ IV, 76.

⁷ Syll.³, 552.

⁸ XXXIII, 20.

⁹ E.g., P. Tebt., 8; OGI, 55; P. Zen. Cairo, 59036.

¹⁰ XXI, 46.

¹¹ E.g. Diodorus, XX, 103; Plut., *Demetrius*, 34.

¹² Syll.³, 543 is a good example.

was also, it may be noted, entirely subjective. Kings preferred to call their own cities free, and acknowledged that cities ruled by friendly powers were free. Similarly, a city which was satisfied with its position, or at any rate saw no hope of bettering it, was willing from motives of *amour propre* to call its condition liberty. But when one king attacked another he was very likely to denounce his adversary as having enslaved his cities, and to cite his garrisons and his taxation as infringements of their liberty. And the cities, if they were deluded by his professions or hoped to make a better bargain with him, would heartily agree with these sentiments. But whatever a king might say in the heat of the conflict, he did not really mean to waive his sovereign rights. He might for the moment genuinely intend not to garrison or tax the cities which took his side, nor to interfere with their constitutions; but he expected them to obey him.

It is the object of this paper to prove that Rome took over the royal concept of freedom; that she too by a free city meant not an independent sovereign state, but a state subject to her suzerainty enjoying by her grace certain privileges. When the Roman Republic was drawn into eastern politics, it found itself in conflict with two kings, both of whom had many cities subject to them and were endeavouring to establish their power over others which were independent. The Senate therefore naturally took up the well-worn cry of the autonomy of the Hellenes. But the way in which it implemented its pledges shows clearly that it put the same construction on freedom as did its adversaries. The Greek cities ceded by Philip V after Cynoscephalae were indeed by the proclamation of the Isthmia declared "free, exempt from garrisons and from tribute, under their own ancestral laws."¹ But Rome disposed of them as she thought fit, adding some to the Achaean and Aetolian leagues, and grouping others in leagues of their own; the majority of the Roman commissioners did not think it inconsistent with the proclamation of the Isthmia to grant Chalcis and Oreus to the king of Pergamum, but this decision was reversed by the Senate.² Whatever freedom meant then, it did not mean sovereign independence and the liberty of each city to choose its own political affiliations.

¹ Polyb., XVIII, 46; Livy, XXXIII, 32.

² Polyb., XVIII, 47; Livy, XXXIII, 34.

Of the specific guarantees the first and second were fulfilled. The third was very curiously interpreted. Flamininus, we are told, "chose the members of the council and the jurors principally on a property qualification, and gave preponderance to that part of the cities in whose interest it was that everything should be serene and quiet."¹ The cities of Greece thus learned that "to use their own laws" meant not to choose their own constitutions, but to govern themselves in accordance with the constitutions that Rome gave to them.

In the settlement of Asia Rome might seem to have betrayed its pledge, in assigning to Eumenes and to Rhodes the majority of the Greek cities for whose freedom it has professedly fought Antiochus. The Rhodians, indeed, in urging the Senate not to give the cities to Eumenes but to free them, and Eumenes himself in countering their plea, used language which implied that freedom and subjection to a monarch were incompatible.² But the Rhodians were merely exploiting, in the manner traditional in Hellenistic diplomacy, the ambiguous use of the term freedom, and Eumenes allowed himself to be manoeuvred into a false position. The senate might quite correctly have alleged that Rome had by the defeat of Antiochus acquired sovereign rights over the cities of Asia, free though they were by her declarations, and could transfer this sovereignty to whomsoever she pleased, without infringing the liberty of the cities. Ten years later in fact the Senate specifically declared that "the Lycians had not been given to the Rhodians in gift but rather as friends and allies," or, as Livy puts it, "that the Lycians were under the rule and protection of the Rhodians in the same sense that the allied cities were under the suzerainty of the Roman people."³ And, according to Polybius, the detailed enactments regarding the several cities concerned only the question of taxes, which should be immune and which should pay tribute to Eumenes.⁴ Livy indeed by making the Senate declare one class *liberi et immunes* and the other *vectigales*⁵ implies that Rome condemned the latter to servitude, but his wording is probably inaccurate.

¹ Livy, XXXIV, 51; cf. Syll.³, 674, κατὰ νόμους τῶν Θεσσα[λῶ]ν . . . οὗς νόμους Τίτος Κοίγκτιος ὑπάτος ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν δέκα πρεσβευτῶν γνώμης ἔδωκεν.

² Polyb., XXI, 19-23; Livy, XXXVII, 53-4.

³ Polyb., XXV, 4; Livy, XLI, 6.

⁴ XXI, 24, 46.

⁵ XXXVII, 55; cf. XXXVIII, 39, where he uses the term *liberare* of Dardanus.

If the senate in 178 B.C. correctly interpreted the principles on which it had acted ten years previously, it follows that it had already in 189 B.C. abandoned another of the principles enumerated in the proclamation of the Isthmia. Freedom was already in its view, as in that of the kings, compatible with the payment of tribute—though the tribute was payable not to Rome itself but to the powers to which it had transferred its suzerain rights. That this was its view was unmistakably demonstrated ten years later. The Macedonians and Illyrians were in 168 B.C. declared free, but not only were the external relations and the internal constitutions of the cities arbitrarily defined by their new suzerain, but they were, with a few exceptions, ordered to pay tribute to her.¹ Similar restrictions were in 146 B.C. placed on the freedom of the Greek cities. There can be no doubt that after the destruction of Corinth the autonomy of the Hellenes was once again proclaimed; the not very reliable testimony of Zonaras² is confirmed by an almost contemporary inscription³ which speaks of “the freedom restored to the Greeks in common.” But at the same time the mutual relations of the cities were severely regulated, the leagues being dissolved and *commercium* and *conubium* being suppressed; the constitutions of the several cities were remodelled with an oligarchic bias: and tribute was imposed.⁴ Pausanias speaks of these measures as being of general application. This is perhaps not true. The inscription cited above speaks of “the constitution given by the Romans to the Achaeans,” so that it may be that only those groups of cities which had been involved in the war had to undergo reorganization. We have evidence for taxation only in Phocis, in Boeotia and in Euboea;⁵ once again tribute may have been imposed only on communities involved in the war—the Phocian, Boeotian and Euboean cities are known to have supported the Achaeans. But the fact remains that some free cities of Greece at any rate had constitutions imposed on them and paid tribute. And it may be noted that some of these cities had not originally owed their freedom to Rome. The Romans had, in fact, long adopted the view current among the kings that not only cities freed by themselves, but independent cities which ac-

¹ Livy, XLV, 18, 29-30; cf. Justin, XXXIII, 2.

² IX, 31.

³ Syll.³, 684, [τ]ῆς ἀποδομένης κατὰ [κ]οινὸν τοῖς Ἑλλ[ησιν ἐ]λευθερίας.

⁴ Paus., XIII, xvi, 6.

⁵ Paus., X, xxxiv, 2, Syll.³, 747, Cic., *de nat. deor.*, III, 49, IGR, I, 118.

cepted their alliance, were subject to their suzerainty and must obey them. The Achaeans had entered the friendship of the Roman people as a sovereign power ; but when they did not submit to the decisions of Rome on their internal affairs they were made to understand that in allying themselves to Rome they had accepted her suzerainty.

The cities of Greece seem to have remained free till the end of the Republic.¹ Those of Macedonia were, on the other hand, for the most part no longer free in the late Republican period. It may be asked what was the distinction between free and not free. I have, I hope, already made it plain that free cities were not, in the view of the Roman government, sovereign states ; the distinction cannot be "independent" as against "subject," since both classes were under the suzerainty of Rome. Nor can it lie in autonomy in the strict sense, since cities of both classes might have their constitutions imposed on them by Rome. Nor again can it lie in immunity. The terminology employed by the Romans does indeed imply that this was the test ; the most usual term for non-free cities was *stipendiariae*. But the Macedonians paid tribute while they were still free, and the Greeks retained their liberty when taxation was imposed on them. The distinction was no doubt to some extent sentimental ; the real condition of the Greeks did not differ greatly from that of the Macedonians after 146 B.C., but out of respect for their glorious past the Greeks were still called free. Yet it is plain that freedom was still in the later Republic a matter of some practical importance. Freedom was also no doubt to some extent a question of degree ; the privileges of free cities were on the whole more extensive than those of the *civitates stipendiariae*. But there was an infinite gradation of privilege and some subject cities, —those of Sicily for instance—enjoyed rights hardly inferior to those of some free cities. Nor was the legal basis of their privileges different. The rights of the subject cities, it is true, depended on the *lex provinciae*, those of free cities normally on a special enactment ; but the rights of some groups of free cities, those of Macedonia, for instance, in the years 168–146 B.C., depended on a general enactment analogous to a *lex provinciae*, and in any case the legal basis of a *lex provinciae* and the charter of a free city was the same ;

¹ Appian, *Mith.*, 58 ; Cic., *in Pis.*, 37 ; *ad Att.*, I, xix, § 9 ; Caesar, *B.C.*, III, 3.

both were normally the decision of a Roman magistrate ratified by a decree of the senate or a law of the people.

The clue to the problem probably lies in the historical circumstances in which the distinction arose. Macedonia became in 146 B.C. the province of a Roman governor, and it is probably from that date that the Macedonian cities ceased to be accounted free. The title of free was then withdrawn from those cities which were subject to a Roman governor and reserved to those under the immediate suzerainty of the Roman people. It may be noted that no satisfactory term for the non-free cities was ever evolved—it would be difficult indeed to find one which was not invidious—and unofficially they still on occasion called themselves and were called free. When Mithridates attacked Asia the Ephesians resolved to take measures “on behalf of the supremacy of the Romans and the common freedom”—presumably of the province.¹ After the war they made a dedication to the Roman people “because it had maintained the liberty of their ancestors,”² though Ephesus was certainly not a free city now, whatever it had been before the war. And in a later age Josephus can write that “Pompey liberated and assigned to the province” of Syria the cities formerly subject to the Jews.³ This ambiguity often perplexes the problems of later Republican history.

The origins of the province of Asia are obscure. We have in our literary authorities statements that Attalus III in his will made the Roman people his heir,⁴ and also that Asia “ought to have been free, having been left to the Roman people by King Attalus’ will.”⁵ In a contemporary inscription the Pergamenes declare: “Whereas King Attalus Philometor and Euergetes in departing from among men has left our native city free . . . and the will must be confirmed by the Romans. . . .”⁶ The word “free” in the two passages cited above may not be used technically, but it is quite possible that it is. Attalus would, in that case, have pronounced his cities free—the sentence in Livy’s epitome makes it likely that Attalus treated all his cities uniformly and that the Pergamenes were not particularly favoured—at the same time transferring his sovereign

¹ *Syll.*³, 742.

² Dessau, 34.

³ *Jos., Ant.*, XIV, 76.

⁴ *Livy, Epit.*, LVIII; *Strabo*, XIII, 624; *Florus*, I, 35 (II, 20).

⁵ *Livy, Epit.*, LIX.

⁶ *IGR*, IV, 289.

rights over them to the Roman people. The transaction would have been exactly analogous to the original grant of the Asiatic cities by Rome to Eumenes. What response Rome would have made to the offer we cannot tell, since the revolt of Aristonicus immediately confused the issue. It may be that the Senate pronounced the cities of Asia free, intending to treat them as it had at first treated those of Macedonia ; Livy's words imply this. But, as things were, a province had to be established, and those cities at any rate which had rejected Rome's suzerainty became subject to a governor. It may be noted that the cities of Caria, which were not affected by Attalus' will, seem, since some of them supported Aristonicus, to have been treated exactly like those of the Pergamene kingdom, although they were certainly free. Another interesting point is that Phrygia Major, which had been granted to Mithridates V of Pontus, was on its resumption a few years later declared free, and seems to have formed an appanage of the province of Asia much as Greece was loosely attached to Macedonia.¹

The taxation of Asia is also an obscure point. Antony is made by Appian² to say that Asia paid no taxes till Gaius Gracchus' time. This is scarcely credible, seeing that the Roman government had been put to the expense of establishing a military command. It may be, however, that the Senate originally declared the cities of Asia immune, and may after Aristonicus' revolt have imposed tribute only on those cities which had supported him. Gracchus' measure seems on the other hand to have imposed taxes on all the cities, whether subject or free. At any rate Ilium is known to have paid the tithe ;³ and Ilium, for generations the pampered favourite of Rome, is very unlikely to have forfeited its status as a free city. Here again it is of interest that Phrygia Major, being brought under Roman sovereignty after the enactment of Gracchus' law, was declared immune.⁴

The cities of Cyrenaica, bequeathed by Ptolemy Apion to Rome in 98 B.C., were declared free,⁵ and no governor was sent to look after them. Whether they paid tribute or not is uncertain, for, though silphium began immediately to be received by the Roman treasury,⁶ this silphium may have been the product of the extensive

¹ Appian, *Mith.*, 57.

⁴ Appian, *Mith.*, 57.

² B.C., V, 4.

⁵ Livy, *Epit.*, LXX.

³ *IGR*, IV, 194.

⁶ Pliny, *N.H.*, XIX, 39.

royal, now public, lands of Cyrenaica. Later, in 74 B.C., a governor was sent to Cyrenaica,¹ and it is to be presumed that its cities thereupon ceased to be free.

With this exception no general grant of freedom was made to the cities of any territory annexed after Phrygia Major. In the provinces of Cilicia, Crete, Bithynia-Pontus, and Syria the cities seem, with a few isolated exceptions, to have been from the first subject. The cities of Crete were declared free by Antony, the Roman governor being withdrawn and tribute remitted.² This grant was, however, cancelled by Augustus,³ who would also seem to have suppressed, except in the case of a few favoured cities, the freedom of the Greeks, when he made Achaia a province.⁴ Nero restored to the Greeks their freedom, adding thereto immunity,⁵ but Vespasian soon reversed this decision.⁶ Claudius suppressed the liberty of the Lycians, the last considerable group of cities to enjoy the privilege, placing them under a governor.⁷ Here again Nero seems to have restored the freedom taken away by his predecessors, withdrawing the governor,⁸ but Vespasian reversed this decision also.⁹ Henceforth there survived only isolated free cities, which were technically enclaves in the provinces.

Such in brief is the history of freedom in the Empire of Rome. Freedom was, it would seem, to the Roman government what it was to the Hellenistic kings, a privileged status granted by itself to cities under its dominion, and the principal element in it was exemption from the authority of the provincial governors. It remains to enquire how far the actual documents setting forth the privileges of free cities bear out this view. But before doing so the distinction between *civitates liberae* and *civitates liberae et foederatae* must be examined. It has often been pointed out that the privileges enjoyed by free and federate cities were, allowing for the variations

¹ Sallust, *frag.*, II, 43 ; Appian (*B.C.*, I, 111) puts in this year the acquisition of Cyrenaica.

² Cic., *Phil.*, II, 97.

³ He maintained the freedom of two cities only (Cassius Dio, LI, 2).

⁴ Pliny, using the Augustan *formula*, distinguishes a few free cities from the bulk.

⁵ Suet., *Nero*, 24 ; Cassius Dio, LXIII, 11 ; Pliny, *N.H.*, IV, 22 ; Paus., VII, xvii, 2 ; *Syll.*³, 814.

⁶ Suet., *Vesp.*, 8.

⁷ Suet., *Claud.*, 25 ; Cassius Dio, LX, 17 ; see Syme, *Klio*, XXX, p. 227, for the Claudian province of Lycia-Pamphylia.

⁸ This is implied by the fact that Pamphylia was reunited with Galatia (Tac., *Hist.*, II, 9).

⁹ Suet., *Vesp.*, 8.

between city and city, the same, and that the two classes differed only in the sanction of their privileges : those of free cities were in theory as well as in fact revocable at will, those of federate, being guaranteed by a sworn instrument, were in theory irrevocable. The history of the federate cities—a rare class in the East—seems in fact to have been precisely parallel to that of the free cities. Many of them in early days had been genuinely free, that is independent, when they signed their *foedera* with Rome ; but, like the independent cities which merely entered the friendship of Rome, they were gradually assimilated in status to free cities under the sovereignty of Rome. In later times *foedera* were often granted to free cities under Roman sovereignty, and in these cases the *foedus* merely guaranteed the existing status of the city ; the *foedus* of Aphrodisias was a mere annex to the *senatus consultum* setting forth its privileges.¹ In these circumstances it is not impossible that some federate cities may have paid tribute, if they had already done so in their previous condition of freedom. No instance can be quoted from the East, but in Sicily Netum may be a case in point. In dealing with the question of the tithe Cicero enumerates the cities which were immune, mentioning among them the two federate cities of Tauromenium and Messana, “ whose tithe it is not customary to farm.”² Later in another connexion he mentions another federate city, Netum ;³ it is to be presumed that its tithe was farmed.

The documents that we possess are in the first place not simple declarations acknowledging a certain city as free. They are elaborate catalogues of privileges, and this is in itself significant. Secondly, the privileges are rigorously defined. Of the three main constituents of freedom as laid down in Hellenistic documents, one, the absence of a garrison, is not mentioned in later Roman grants, because it was never the practice of the Roman government to garrison cities. The rather similar exemption from billeting, which occurs in some Hellenistic grants, does, however, recur in one Roman document, the *Lex de Termessibus*,⁴ with a significant qualification, that troops may be quartered on the city by decree of the Senate. The freedom of Termessus thus in this particular consisted in being

¹ The actual *foedus* (ῥηκιον) has not survived but is mentioned in Antony's covering letter (OGI, 452).

² *Verr.*, III, 13.

³ *Verr.*, V, 56.

⁴ Dessau, 38.

exempt from the power of the provincial governor to billet troops, not from the right of the Roman Republic to do so. The right "to use their own laws" was likewise qualified in various ways. The most liberal definition of this right guaranteed to the citizens "their own laws and customs which they previously used," as at Stratonicea,¹ or "the laws, customs, and rights which they had when they entered into the friendship of the Romans," as at Chios.² This clause has a very long history—it occurs in the constitution of the League of Corinth³—and was originally intended to be, and still to some extent was, a safeguard to the cities, in that it precluded the suzerain from imposing a constitution designed to give the power to its supporters. But it was also restrictive in that it prevented the citizens from changing their constitution, and it could give a handle to the suzerain to suppress practices that it did not favour on the ground that they were not sanctioned by the constitution. Trajan's treatment of the question of *erani* at Amisus is typical of the way in which this seemingly liberal clause could be used as an instrument of control. "If by their laws," he writes, "which they enjoy in virtue of their *foedus*, an *eranus* is permitted, we cannot prevent their having them."⁴ But, it is implied, if their laws do not mention *erani*, we can and will prevent them. The definition of autonomy is not always so liberal; at Termessus it is qualified by the clause, "in so far as is not contrary to this law." And as has been already pointed out free cities were often given "their own laws" by Rome. In practice the constitutions of free cities varied very considerably. Some which, like Rhodes, had been independent preserved the democratic institutions which they had possessed when they entered the friendship of the Roman people. Others, like the Thessalian and Macedonian cities, which had been freed from kings, received from the beginning a timocratic constitution from Rome, and others again, like the Achaean cities, which had once been independent but had forfeited and regained their liberty, had similar timocratic constitutions imposed on them. Subject cities to which freedom was granted, as it was to Aphrodisias, apparently retained as free cities the constitution laid down by the *lex provinciae*. In no case, it must be emphasized, did the right "to use their own laws" mean the right to alter their laws at will;

¹ OGI, 441.² IGR, IV, 943.³ [Dem.], XVII, 10.⁴ Pliny, *Ep.*, X, 93.

even Athens, a once independent city which had signed a *foedus* with Rome, had to apply to the senate to modify its constitution.¹

Immunity was, I have endeavoured to show, not an integral part of freedom. Free cities subject to kings had paid them taxes, and the Roman Republic, after reviving for a very brief period the purer doctrine of immunity, later imposed tribute on the free Macedonians, Illyrians and Hellenes, and probably also on the free cities of Asia, and perhaps on the free cities of Cyrenaica. In the later republican period, it is true, the terms *libera* and *immunis* tend very often to be coupled together, and it may be that as freedom became a rarer privilege, immunity tended to be more frequently added to it. But the very title *libera et immunis* might be interpreted to mean that the two privileges, though often in practice combined, were in theory separate. It cannot therefore be assumed when a document reciting the privileges of a free city makes no mention of taxes that the city in question was exempt from taxation. This assumption is based on the view, which I have endeavoured to prove to be false, that free cities were technically sovereign states, and that therefore no question of tribute could arise. How far from the truth this view is appears from the limited character of the immunity enjoyed even by *civitates liberae et immunes*. We learn from the Verrines² that in Halicyae and Segesta only land cultivated by the citizens was exempt from tithe, and land held, even on lease, by foreigners paid. The Roman government thus asserted its right to levy taxes even on the territory of a free and immune city; immunity from tithe was a privilege granted to the citizens, and was not the natural consequence of the sovereign independence of the city.

For the later republican period our information on immunity is very fragmentary. According to Pausanias³ Sulla granted to Elatea freedom (which incidentally it already possessed) and immunity. An inscription⁴ which is perhaps of Sullan date records that Alabanda obtained two grants from the senate, one of freedom and the other of exemption from tribute; it is notable that the latter privilege was granted separately by a subsequent decision.

¹ At the opening of the Mithridatic War the constitution of Athens was under consideration by the senate (Athenaeus, V, 215 cd.).

² III, 91, "Halicyenses, quorum incolae decumas dant, ipsi agros immunes habent"; cf. 92-93 for Segesta.

³ X, xxxiv, 2.

⁴ *Hermes*, 1899, p. 305.

Cnidus in an inscription ¹ honours "Theopompus, son of Artemidorus, who obtained for us liberty and immunity" from Caesar, and according to Strabo ² Caesar "confirmed the freedom and immunity" of Ilium; Sulla is stated by Appian ³ to have granted (more properly, in all probability, confirmed) the former privilege and perhaps granted the latter also. Antony exempted from tribute a number of cities, Aphrodisias,⁴ Tarsus, Laodicea, and those of Lycia ⁵ and Crete.⁶ There is no explicit evidence that any free city—except those of Greece—paid tribute during the later republican period, but it is in my view significant that the exhaustive catalogues of privileges granted to Stratonicea and Termessus make no mention of taxation; since in all probability these cities paid tribute before receiving their freedom, they must be presumed to have continued to pay it when free.

Under the principate there is record of very few immune cities in the East. Pliny in the *Natural History* ⁷ cites only Amphissa, the Ozolian Locrians and Ilium as *immunes*, as against many *civitates liberae*. Since Pliny's information on the status of cities is mostly drawn from the Augustan *formulae provinciarum* this fact is important. It indicates that *civitates immunes* were separately entered in the *formulae* and were not identical with *liberae*. Pliny's list is, it need hardly be said, incomplete. We know from Strabo ⁸ that Sparta was in the early principate immune; and Alabanda on her late imperial coins ⁹ boasts her ἀτέλεια; it is however possible that she had not preserved her exemption continuously throughout the principate. Claudius granted immunity to Cos ¹⁰ and Antoninus Pius to Pallantium.¹¹ Nero momentarily restored the cities of Greece "to their ancient condition of autonomy and freedom, adding to his great and unexpected gift immunity also, which none of the previous Augusti had granted in its entirety."¹²

Under the principate there are definitely attested cases of free cities which paid tribute. Some of the instances adduced are not, it is true, valid. Apollonis and Magnesia by Sipylus were almost certainly no longer free cities when Tiberius remitted their tribute;¹³

¹ GIBM, 792.

² XIII, 595.

³ Mith., 61.

⁴ OGI, 454.

⁵ Appian, B.C., V, 7.

⁶ Cic., Phil., II, 97.

⁷ IV, 7, 8; V, 124.

⁸ VIII, 365-366.

⁹ Head, Hist. Num.², p. 607.

¹⁰ Tac., Ann., XII, 61.

¹¹ Paus., VIII, xliii, 1.

¹² Syll.³, 814.

¹³ Tac., Ann., II, 47.

they are recorded by Pliny ¹ in passages directly derived from the Augustan *formula provinciae* and are not therein qualified as free. Similarly, Antioch, when Caracalla made it a colony *salvis tributis*,² had recently been degraded by Severus. The payments which the free city of Chios made to the procurators of Augustus cannot have been the tribute, which was at very much later date still payable to the proconsul, but must have been a special indemnity; the levies to which the citizens were as a result subject were probably an internal tax raised by the city.³ On the other hand, Byzantium was undoubtedly a free city ⁴ and undoubtedly paid tribute under Claudius.⁵ And Mylasa was, so far as we know, still free ⁶ when the citizens shouted, "It is for this reason that the full payment of the tribute to our lords the emperors is behindhand."⁷

¹ *N.H.*, V, 120, 126.

² *Dig.*, L, xv, 8, § 6.

³ *Jos., Ant.*, XVI, 26.

⁴ Pliny, *N.H.*, IV, 46; it remained free till the reign of Vespasian (*Suet., Vesp.*, 8).

⁵ *Tac., Ann.*, XII, 62.

⁶ It is last recorded as such in Pliny, *N.H.*, V, 108.

⁷ *OGI*, 515.

KULTE IM PRYTANEION VON EPHEOS

von JOSEF KEIL

NAHE der Stelle, wo die byzantinische Stadtmauer von Ephesos an das Theater stösst, fand R. Heberdey im Jahre 1899 eine in diese Mauer verbaute Quader mit Antenansatz, die in einer tabula ansata folgende Inschrift trägt :

1. *Jahreshefte* III (1900), Beibl. 88 (R. Heberdey).¹

ᾠ τῆς ἀρίστης Ἀνδροκλείου καὶ σοφῆς
δαίμον πόλης, Ἔστι' ἀειπάρθενε,
σύ τ', ὦ θεῶν μέγιστον οὐνομ' Ἄρτεμι,
τῇ Τυλλία γείνοισθ' ἀρωγὸν πανταχοῦ,
5 ἀνθ' ὧν προθύμως ἐπρυτάνευσ' ὑμῶν ἄδην
τὸν πλοῦτον εἰς πᾶν πρᾶγμ' ἀναλοῦσ' ἀφθόνης.

So einfach der zugrunde liegende Sachverhalt ist—eine reiche Dame hat während der von ihr übernommenen Prytanie grosse Aufwendungen gemacht—so stark fällt das offenbar am Ende des Amtsjahres eingegrabene Gebet aus der grossen Zahl der sonstigen ephesischen Sakralinschriften heraus. Neben die grosse Artemis, die die charakteristische Bezeichnung μέγιστον θεῶν ὄνομα erhält, tritt als Daimon der Androklosstadt die ἀειπάρθενος Ἔστια, und diese Auswahl wird damit begründet, dass sich die Prytanie auf diese beiden Göttinnen, d.h. sowohl auf die Stadt wie auf das Artemision bezog.

Ganz ohne Analogie ist jedoch unsere Inschrift nicht ; sie bildet vielmehr mit einer Reihe anderer eine geschlossene Gruppe, die für die Religionsgeschichte der Kaiserzeit von Interesse ist.

¹ Heberdey setzt die Inschrift nach den Buchstabenformen etwa ins erste Jahrhundert n. Chr. Mir scheinen die Buchstaben mit denen der 170/1 n. Chr. datierten Macrinusbasis (*Forsch. in Ephesos*, III, n. 29) am nächsten verwandt.

Folgende Texte gehören dazu :

2. *LW*, 171a (= *CIG*, 2986), in der Mauer einer kleinen Moschee am Aufgang zum Ajasolukhügel, von O. Benndorf revidiert und abgeklatscht.¹

Ἑστία Βουλαία καὶ Ἀρτεμι Ἐφεσία, σώζε-
τε Πλούταρχον τὸν πρύτανιν καὶ γυμνα-
σίαρχον καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ, τὰς ἱερείας τῆς
Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ τὴν σύνβιον αὐτοῦ, τὴν Μενάνδρου
5 Νυμφιδίαν, καὶ Νεικόπολιν, τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς,
γυναῖκα Νυμφίου, ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ πρυτάνεως καὶ π -- 2

Wiederum das Gebet eines Prytanen (und Gymnasiarchen) an die gleichen Gottheiten, nur dass Ἑστία hier durch den Beinamen Βουλαία als die Schützerin des Rates oder des Rathhauses der Stadt bezeichnet ist.

Die drei folgenden Texte stehen auf den sogenannten Kureten-säulen, d.h. jenen mächtigen unkannelierten Säulentrommeln, die in zweiter Verwendung als Stützen an einem Gebäude dienten, das in spätantiker Zeit an der Biegung der vom Südostende der Agora gegen das Odeion führenden Strasse (gegenüber dem sogenannten Nymphäum und Oktogon) erbaut worden ist. Diese Säulentrommeln sind grossenteils mit Inschriften bedeckt, die in ihrer Mehrzahl nach Prytanen datierte jährliche Personalverzeichnisse des sakralen Kollegiums der Kureten enthalten³ und sich vom ersten bis ins dritte Jahrhundert n. Chr. erstrecken.

3. Inv.-N^o 1021 D. Teilweise veröffentlicht von J. Poerner, *De Curetibus et Corybantibus*, 293, n. 30.⁴

Φαβωνία Φλάκκιλλα πρύτανις καὶ γυμνασίαρχος, ἡ
ἀρχιέρεια εὐχαριστῶ vac. ?⁵ Ἑστία Βουλαία καὶ Δήμητρι

¹ Die ungewöhnliche Schrift ist schwer zu datieren ; etwa aus dem ausgehenden zweiten Jahrhundert n. Chr.

² Der letzte Buchstabe ist am ehesten ein π ; ob sich die Inschrift auf einer darunter liegenden Quader fortsetzte, ist unsicher.

³ Eine grössere Anzahl dieser Verzeichnisse hat J. Poerner, *De Curetibus et Corybantibus*, Diss. Halle, 1913, S. 285 ff., nach den ihm von Heberdey überlassenen Abschriften veröffentlicht. Vgl. Heberdey, *Jahreshefte*, VIII (1905), Beibl. 76 ff. Ein Versuch der Auswertung bei Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros*, 281 ff.

⁴ Die Inschrift gehört wohl dem frühen dritten Jahrhundert n. Chr. an.

⁵ Der Stein hat hier eine Verletzung, die vielleicht alt ist und das Beschreiben der Stelle verhindert hat.

- καὶ Δήμητρος κόρη καὶ Πυρὶ ἀφθάρτῳ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι
 Κλαρίῳ καὶ Σώπολι καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅτι
 5 ὀλοκληροῦσάν με μετὰ τοῦ συμβίου μου Ἀκακίου
 καὶ τῶν τέκνων μου καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μου
 τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκτελέσασαν τὰ μυστήρια πάντα
 εὐτυχῶς ἀποκατέστησαν.
 Οἶδε ἐκουρήτευσαν.
 10 Εὐάνδρις γερουσιαστής,
 Περιγένης φιλοσέβ(αστος) γραμματεὺς,
 Ἀμυντιανὸς φιλοσέβ(αστος), Φάβ(ιος) Κυριακὸς ἐστιοῦχος,¹
 Φαβ(ία) Ζωσίμη{ν} καλαθηφόρος,
 μαντηλάριοι· Δαμῶ, Πρεῖσκιλλα,
 15 Νουνεχίς, Λουκιανή. Εὐτυχῶς.

4. Inv.-N^o 1021 E. Unveröffentlicht.²

- Αὐρηλία Ἰουλιανή Παπαρίωνος, ἀγνωτάτη καὶ εὐσεβεστάτη
 πρύτανις, θυγάτηρ καὶ ἐκγόνη καὶ προεκγόνη καὶ ἀνεψιὰ
 γραμματέων καὶ πρυτάνεων καὶ ἀσιαρχῶν, εὐχαριστῶ
 τῇ δεσποίνῃ Ἑστία καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅτι με ὑγιαίνουσιν
 5 [τ]οῖς γονεῦσιν ἀπέδωκαν.

5. Inv.-N^o 1035 D. Unveröffentlicht.³

- [Ἐπὶ πρυτά]γεως M. Αὐ(ρηλίου)
 Φιλ... βου(λάρχου) φιλοσεβ(άστου)
 Αὐρ(ήλιος) Εὐπόριστος ἐστιοῦ-
 χος καὶ Αὐρ(ηλία) Τειμοθέα
 5 καλαθηφόρος
 εὐχαρηστοῦμεν Ἑστία
 Βουλαία καὶ Πυρὶ ἀ-
 φθάρτῳ καὶ πᾶσιν
 θεοῖς. Εὐτυχῶς.

6. Inv.-N^o 514. Auf der rechten Nebenseite einer Ara, deren ursprüngliche auf der Vorderseite eingegrabene Inschrift bei der Wiederverwendung getilgt worden war; 1898 in einer schlechten

¹ Die Poerner mitgeteilte Kopie des Skizzenbuches gab irrtümlich ἐλαιούχος (übernommen von Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros*, 300); der Abklatsch lässt die richtige Lesung mit Sicherheit erkennen.

² Die Inschrift schliesst auf der Säule unmittelbar an die vorhergehende an und ist wohl nur wenig später eingegraben.

³ Sehr rohe Schrift; sicher nach 212 n. Chr. eingegraben.

byzantinischen Hausmauer nördlich der Arkadiane in dritter Verwendung vorgefunden. Unveröffentlicht.¹

Ἀγαθῇ[ι] τύχηι.
 Πρυτανε[ύ]οντος Αὐρ(ηλίου)
 Τηλέφο[υ] φιλοσεβ(άστου)
 βουλ[άρ]χου
 Ὀνη[σί]μ[η] κ]αλαθηφόρος
 5 εὐ[χαριστῶ Ἑσ]τία Βουλαία
 κ[αὶ Πυρὶ ἀφθάρ]τω καὶ Δήμητρι
 [καὶ Δήμητρος κ]όρη καὶ
 [Ἀπόλλωνι Κλαρίω] καὶ θεῶ
 [Σώπολι σὺν τῷ πρωτ]οκούρητι
 10 - - - - - ολοῖς
 - - - - - βίω

Die Inschriften n. 3-6 gehören der Gattung der sogenannten Dankinschriften an, die in Ephesos durch viele ganz ähnlich stilisierte, aber an Artemis gerichtete Exemplare aus dem Artemision vertreten ist. Sie erweitern und bereichern das aus n. 1 und 2 gewonnene Bild dadurch, dass sie eine Zusammengehörigkeit der Hestia-Texte mit den Kureteninschriften erkennen lassen und dass sie mit Hestia eine Reihe anderer, zum Teil eigenartiger und in Ephesos sonst nicht bezeugter göttlicher Mächte in Verbindung bringen. Es muss das Ziel der Interpretation aller vorstehenden Inschriften sein, zunächst die Kultstätte, in der sie ursprünglich eingegraben waren, zu bestimmen, dann die Eigenart der in ihnen genannten Gottheiten und die Motive ihrer Vereinigung zu erfassen und schliesslich die gewonnenen Ergebnisse für die allgemeine Geschichte der ephesischen Kulte zu verwerten.

Die erste der drei bezeichneten Aufgaben ist leicht zu lösen. Der einheitliche Charakter der Inschriften beweist, dass sie alle aus derselben Kultstätte herkommen müssen. Die Kultstätte aber, an der neben der Hauptgottheit Ἑστία auch das Ewige Feuer verehrt wurde und in der vor allem die Inhaber der Prytanie ihre Gebete und Danksagungen aufzeichnen liessen, kann nur das Prytaneion von Ephesos gewesen sein.² Bauwerken seines Bezirkes müssen sowohl

¹ Gute Schrift; wohl bald nach 212 n. Chr. aufgestellt.

² Die bei Poerner a.a.O., 292, n. 29, veröffentlichte Kuretenliste erwähnt das Prytaneion auch ausdrücklich.

die Wandquadern, welche die Inschriften n. 1 und 2 tragen, wie alle Kuretensäulen angehören, und in ihm muss auch die Ara mit n. 6 aufgestellt gewesen sein. Die Lage dieses Prytaneions lässt sich, dank der neuen Erkenntnis, noch annähernd bestimmen. Wir besaßen dafür bisher zwei Anhaltspunkte. Nach der etwa um 230 n. Chr. errichteten Basis *Forsch. in Ephesos*, III, n. 71, Z. 20 ff., hat ein dem römischen Ritterstande angehöriger M. Aurelius Artemidorus Metrodorianus ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς πρυτανείας — — — τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανείου κάθοδον ἕως τῆς ἐνβάσεως τῆς πλατείας mit einem Pflaster versehen. Demnach muss das Prytaneion an einem Abhänge oder auf einer Höhe gelegen haben und kann nur durch einen ansteigenden Fussweg mit einer der grossen Strassen der Stadt verbunden gewesen sein. Das zweite Zeugnis ist die fragmentierte Bauinschrift wohl einer Torwand aus dem ersten Jahrhundert n. Chr., die östlich des Oktogons, also in unmittelbarer Nähe des jetzigen Standplatzes der Kuretensäulen, gefunden wurde, und die in Z. 3 die Wortfolge πρυτανείου πυλῶνα (oder πυλῶνα[s oder πυλῶν α — —) enthält. Konnte früher mit einer weiten Verschleppung dieses Inschriftsteines gelegentlich einer Wiederverwendung gerechnet werden, so kommt das jetzt, wo die Zugehörigkeit der mächtigen Trommeln der Kuretensäulen zum Prytaneion feststeht, nicht mehr in Frage, das Prytaneion muss vielmehr in der Nähe des Standplatzes dieser Säulen am Abhänge des Panayir Dağ oder an dem gegenüberliegenden Abhänge des Bülbül Dağ gesucht werden.¹ Völlig ausgeschlossen wäre es nicht, dass wir in dem nur teilweise ausgegrabenen Gebäudekomplex oberhalb des Theaters (*Jahreshefte*, XXVII (1932), Beibl., 7 ff.) das Prytaneion zu erkennen hätten.

Dass Ἑστία, die an dem privaten Hausherde wie an dem Staatsherde, der κοινὴ ἑστία, waltende göttliche Macht unter den Gottheiten des Prytaneions an erster Stelle steht, bedarf keiner Begründung. Auch der Beiname Βουλαία ist vielfach bezeugt und leicht verständlich. Wie der älteste Rat in dem ursprünglich einzigen Gemeindehause tagte und gepflegt wurde, so ist auch noch in geschichtlicher Zeit vielerorten ein Zusammensein von Staatsherd

¹ Die von mir *Forsch. in Ephesos*, III, S. 155, zu n. 71, angedeutete Möglichkeit, das Prytaneion auf dem Hügel westlich des Stadions anzusetzen, fällt jetzt weg; die dortige Anlage kann nunmehr zuversichtlich als Macellum gedeutet werden. Vgl. K. Wulzinger, *Numismatik*, II (1933), 32.

und Rathaus zu beobachten.¹ Religionsgeschichtlich viel bemerkenswerter ist dagegen schon, wenn das in einzelnen amphiktionischen Heiligtümern wie auf den Staatsherden verschiedener Städte unterhaltene und offenbar zunächst der Hestia heilige ewige Feuer zu einer eigenen göttlichen Macht verselbständigt wird, wie dies nach den Inschriften n. 3, 5, und 6 im ephesischen Prytaneion der Fall war. Die wichtigste und nächste Analogie hiezu ist der uns durch eine Inschrift aus dem Jahre 117 v. Chr. (Syll.³, 826 C) erhaltene Text des delphischen Amphiktioneneides, in dessen Sanktionsformel (Col. II, Z. 14 ff.) . . . ἐφιορκοῦντι δὲ Θ[έμις τε] καὶ Ἀπόλλων Πύθιος καὶ Λατὼ καὶ Ἀρτεμ[ις καὶ] Ἑστία καὶ Πῦρ ἀθάνατον καὶ θεοὶ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι κακίστῳ ὀλέθρῳ τὴν σωτηρίαν μοι [ἀφέλωσι]ν κτλ. das Πῦρ ἀθάνατον in ganz ähnlicher Weise neben Hestia getreten ist. Wenn es auch an sich nicht ausgeschlossen wäre, dass bei dieser Verselbständigung des Feuers als eigener göttlicher Macht philosophische Spekulation oder orientalische Religionsvorstellungen mitgewirkt haben könnten,² so wird eine solche Annahme durch die Analogie des delphischen Eides, die eher auf eine Eigenentwicklung innerhalb der griechischen Religiosität zu weisen scheint, nicht empfohlen.

Während die Verfasser der Inschriften n. 4 und 5 den Geltungsbereich ihrer Danksagung durch die allgemeine Nennung der πάντες θεοί erweitern, sind in n. 3 und 6 mit Hestia und dem Unvergänglichen Feuer noch mehrere namentlich angeführte Gottheiten verbunden: Demeter mit ihrer Tochter, der klarische Apollo und Sopolis. Dass Apollo unter ihnen ist, hat seine tiefe und klare Begründung. Es mag sein, dass die Verbindung von Hestia und dem Ewigen Feuer mit Apollo in dem hochangesehenen Heiligtum von Delphi, von der uns der angeführte Eid Zeugnis gab, auch auf ephesische Kulte von Einfluss gewesen ist. Aber wirksamer war hier zweifellos das hohe Ansehen, das der Gott auf ionischem Gebiet seit alters genoss, und wenn nicht der delische und nicht der pythische Apollo sondern der Klarios hier aufscheint, so hat das seinen Grund in der ausserordentlich gesteigerten Bedeutung, welche das Ephesos benachbarte Apolloheiligtum von Klaros durch seinen Mysterienkult und als Orakelstätte in der Kaiserzeit erlangt

¹ Ist doch der Beiname Πρυτανεία (Πρυτανίτις) für Hestia mehrfach bezeugt; Belege bei Süss, RE, VIII, 1285, 37 ff.

² Höfer in Roschers Lex. der Myth., III, 3332 ff.

hat.¹ Auch Demeter hat in Ionien hochangesehene Kulte, für die wiederholt auch Mysterien bezeugt sind. In Ephesos, wo schon Herodot, VI, 16, eine nächtliche Thesmophorienfeier der Frauen zur Zeit des ionischen Aufstandes erwähnt und in der Kaiserzeit ein eigener Kultverein der *πρὸ πόλεως Δημητριασταί* bestand, berichtet eine an den Statthalter des Jahres 83/4 n. Chr. gerichtete Eingabe² von den *μυστήρια καὶ θυσίαι*, welche *καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπιτελοῦνται ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Δημητρι Καρποφόρῳ καὶ Θεσμοφόρῳ καὶ θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς ὑπὸ μυστῶν μετὰ πολλῆς ἀγνείας καὶ νομίμων ἑθῶν σὺν ταῖς ἱερίαις ἀπὸ πλείστων ἐτῶν συντετηρημένα ἀπὸ βασιλέων καὶ Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνθυπάτων* und zeugt so von der in der Kaiserzeit keineswegs erlahmten, sondern eher gesteigerten Lebenskraft dieses Kultes. Dass neben der Mutter auch die Tochter verehrt wurde, bedarf keiner Erklärung. Die bei Strabo, XIV, 632 f., erhaltene Nachricht, dass die von dem ephesischen Stadtgründer, dem Kodrossohne Androklos, abstammenden Basiliiden unter anderen Ehrenvorrechten auch *τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς Ἐλευσινίας Δήμητρος* innegehabt hätten, könnte den Schluss nahelegen, dass in Ephesos eine Art Filiakult des eleusinischen Heiligtums bestanden habe. Aber die ephesische Überlieferung, in welcher der Beiname *Ἐλευσινία* sonst niemals vorkommt, stützt diesen Schluss nicht und auch die Inschrift,³ welche, Strabos Angaben sonst bestätigend, einen Mann nennt, der *βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς Δήμητρος διὰ γένους* gewesen ist, enthält keinen Hinweis auf Eleusis. Dagegen darf, wenn ich recht sehe, die Inschrift einer zu Ephesos gehörigen Katoikie⁴ mit Angaben über das dortige Demeterfest auch für das Fest in der Hauptstadt verwertet werden. Dort wird um die Mitte des zweiten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. ein Mann geehrt, der als Priester der Demeter den ihren Mysterien noch fehlenden *κάλαθος περιάργυρος* gestiftet und der die Erträgnisse der Werkstätten vor seinem Hause gewidmet hat *εἰς τὸ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον τῇ τοῦ καλάθου ἀναφορᾷ τοὺς κληρωθέντας εὐωχεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου κτλ.* Demnach war die *καλάθου ἀναφορά* wohl der Höhepunkt des Festes, und ich zweifle nicht, dass die in den Inschriften n. 3, 5, und 6 als *καλαθηφόροι* bezeichneten Frauen die

¹ Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros*, 660 ff.

² *Syll.*³, 820.

³ *Forsch. in Ephesos*, III, 106, n. 18.

⁴ *Ath. Mitt.*, XX (1895), 142 = *BCH*, XVIII (1894), 539; von mir revidiert.

Ehre genossen hatten, bei einer solchen Pompe den heiligen Kalathos zu tragen.

Von grösstem Interesse, aber auch schwer zu deuten, ist der in n. 3 und wahrscheinlich auch in n. 6 an letzter Stelle genannte Gott Sopolis. Zahlreiche Analogien wie z.B. Σώβιος neben Σωσίβιος, Σώδαμος—Σωσίδαμος, Σώμαχος—Σωσίμαχος, Σώξενος—Σωσίξενος und Σώπολις—Σωσίπολις beweisen, dass nicht etwa ein Schreibfehler vorliegt, sondern dass auch der Gottesname Sopolis kein anderer ist als der sonst in der Form Sosipolis bekannte. Damit ist jedoch über die Vorstellungen, die man in Ephesos mit diesem Namen verband, noch nichts ausgesagt. Es liegt nahe, hierüber in Magnesia a.M., der südlichen Nachbarstadt von Ephesos, Aufschluss zu suchen, wo Zeus Sosipolis auf dem Markte einen Tempel mit marmornem Sitzbilde¹ und einen hochangesehenen, uns durch die Inschrift, *Syll.*³, 589, bestens bekannten Kult besass, zu dem auch ein feierliches Gebet für σωτηρία, εἰρήνη und πλοῦτος und das Gedeihen von Menschen, Fluren und Herden sowie das Herrichten einer θόλος und dreier στρωμναί für Zeus Sosipolis, Artemis Leukophryene und Apollo auf dem Markte gehörte. Der Umstand jedoch, dass der Gott in Ephesos nur mit dem Namen Sopolis allein bezeichnet und dass er in unsern Inschriften an letzter Stelle angeführt wird, schliesst ein Gleichung des ephesischen mit dem magnesischen Gotte, ja mit einem Zeus überhaupt aus.² Wir werden in Sopolis vielmehr einen Gott oder Daimon zu sehen haben, dessen Wesen sich in der durch den Namen bezeichneten Tätigkeit eines Retters und Schützers der Stadt erschöpfte und dessen Verehrung eben deshalb die σωτηρία der Stadt verbürgte.³

Schliesslich muss auch noch der Verbindung des ephesischen Kuretenkollegiums mit dem Prytaneion der Stadt gedacht werden, die dadurch erwiesen wird, dass die Listen der Mitglieder und Funktionäre dieses Kollegiums alljährlich auf den Säulen eines zum Prytaneion gehörigen Baues aufgezeichnet wurden. Wir wissen

¹ Humann, Kohte, Watzinger, *Magnesia am Mäander*, 141 ff. und 155 f.

² Auch an das (kretische) Zeuskind wird man trotz der Beziehungen der Kureten zu seinem Kulte kaum denken dürfen.

³ Denkbar wäre es freilich, dass die Ephesier unter Sopolis auch eine bestimmte Gottheit verstanden. Man könnte etwa an die Inschrift, *IBM*, III, 587 b, erinnern, in der neben der κυρία Σώτεια ein männlicher Gott (ὁ θεός) anscheinend ohne Beinamen genannt war. Ganz unbegründet ist die Vermutung Poerners, S. 294 (vgl. Ch. Picard, *a.a.O.*, 456, 4), dass in Sopolis der kleinasiatische Reitergott Sozon zu erkennen sei.

von diesem Kollegium, dass es bei der grossen Panegyris der Artemis im Hain von Ortygia¹ in Erinnerung daran, dass die Kureten einst in der Geburtsstunde der Göttin die der Leto auflauernde Hera durch den Lärm ihrer Waffen erschreckt hätten, Symposia und mystische Opfer beging,² und wir werden anzunehmen haben, dass das Kollegium auch bei andern Anlässen ähnliche Symposia feierte und dass der Ort dieser Feiern das Prytaneion war, in dem sich wohl auch das Amtslokal der Kureten befand. Durchmustert man sämtliche erhaltene Listen, so ergibt sich eine klare Scheidung in zwei Klassen. Die erste Klasse,³ die sich in vielen Beispielen von der Mitte des ersten bis über die Mitte des zweiten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. verfolgen lässt, gibt nach der Jahresdatierung durch den Prytanen zuerst unter der Überschrift: *κούρητες εὐσεβεῖς* sechs (oder sieben) Namen der jährlich wechselnden Mitglieder des Kollegiums und dann, meist unter der Überschrift: *ιερουργοί*, fünf bis sechs Namen von Funktionären, die als *ιεροφάντης*, *ιεροσκοπος*, *ιεροκῆρυξ*, *ιερὸς ἐπὶ θυμιατροῦ*, *ιερὸς σπονδαύλης*, *ιεροσαλπικτής* näher charakterisiert sind. Das vollständigste Beispiel der zweiten viel weniger zahlreichen Klasse ist unsere Inschrift n. 3. Sie gibt nach der Überschrift: *οἷδε ἐκουρήτευσαν* zuerst vier Namen von Männern, von denen einer als *γραμματεὺς*, ein anderer als *ἐστιοῦχος* bezeichnet ist, dann den Namen einer Frau, welche die Würde einer *καλαθηφόρος* innehatte, und schliesslich unter dem Titel *μαντηλάριοι*⁴ die Namen von vier Dienerinnen. Der Unterschied zwischen den beiden Klassen der Listen ist so gross, dass hier keinesfalls von einer Fortentwicklung, sondern nur von einer Umbildung gesprochen werden kann. Diese Umbildung aber ist, wenn ich recht sehe, dadurch veranlasst worden, dass das Kuretenkollegium jetzt auch die Betreuung der altheiligen Kulte der Hestia und der Demeter und vermutlich auch der andern in n. 3 und 6 genannten Gottheiten übernommen hat. Der genaue Zeitpunkt dieser Reform lässt sich aus dem zur Zeit vorliegenden Material noch nicht

¹ *Jahreshefte*, XXI-XXII (1922-24), 113 ff.

² Strabo, XIV, 639 f.; Poerner, S. 284.

³ Poerner, n. 1 bis 29.

⁴ Das Wort scheint bisher sonst nicht belegt. Es gehört zu dem lateinischen Wort *mantelium* oder *manetele*, neugriechisch *μανδίλι*, bei Pollux, VII, 74, *αἱ ὀνομαζόμεναι μαντήλαι*, und bezeichnet die Dienerinnen, welche bei kultischen oder sonstigen Mahlzeiten die *mantelia* (Handtücher oder Servietten) zu reichen hatten. Vgl. auch *CIL* X 1598, wo der *Venus Caelestis* u. a. *promulsidaria argentata* (versilberte Speisebretter) und ein *mantelium arg(entatum)* geweiht werden.

bestimmen, aber mit grösster Wahrscheinlichkeit darf sie in den Anfang des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. und zwar vermutlich kurz vor die *Constitutio Antoniniana* gesetzt werden.

Ich glaube nicht, dass das Zufall ist, sondern eher ein Symptom der grossen Veränderungen, die in dieser Epoche in der römischen Welt vor sich gehen. Die griechische Konzeption des römischen Imperiums als einer Vereinigung sich selbst verwaltender Städte, über denen der beste Mann als Schützer und Führer freier Menschen steht, ist durch die immer mehr zentralisierende Militärmonarchie von Despoten ersetzt worden. Die griechische Polis mit ihren Institutionen geht ihrem Ende zu: Auf religiösem Gebiete hat der Kaiserkult, so viele Heiligtümer ihm auch noch errichtet werden, völlig Schiffbruch erlitten, und der Abwehrkampf der alten Poliskulte gegen die fremden Religionen, vor allem gegen das mächtig anwachsende Christentum, der sich im zweiten Jahrhundert in einer Intensivierung der Kulte und besonders der Mysterienfeiern äussert, tritt in seine Krisis. Gar viele von den Göttergestalten und den Göttergeschichten und Zeremonien verlieren ihren Sinn und ihre Kraft, weil man nicht mehr an sie glaubt. Umso fester aber klammert sich die griechische Polis an die göttlichen Mächte, deren Kraft noch unerschüttert scheint und die daher allein Rettung bringen können. So sehen wir im ephesischen Prytaneion die urtümliche und mit besonderer Heiligkeit umgebene Göttin des Polisherdes und neben ihr das den Fortbestand der Stadt verbürgende Unvergängliche Feuer zum Gegenstand erneuerter Verehrung werden, desgleichen Demeter mit ihrer Tochter, die durch das Geschenk des Saatkorns die Begründerin und Erhalterin alles Lebens und aller irdischen sittlichen Ordnung und durch ihre Weißen die Versöhnerin mit dem Tode ist, weiter Apollo, der den Hellenen als der göttliche Träger und Anwalt edelster Geistigkeit gilt und der in Klaros noch immer wissend die Zukunft verkündet, und schliesslich Sopolis, die aus der Angst vor dem Untergange geborene göttliche Macht, die das bringen soll, was man ersehnt, die Rettung der hellenischen Polis und ihrer Bürger. Es sind starke religiöse Mächte, die gewissermassen neu gerüstet auf den Kampfplatz treten; aber ist die Idee, die sie vertreten, und sind ihre Anhänger stark genug, um zu siegen? ¹

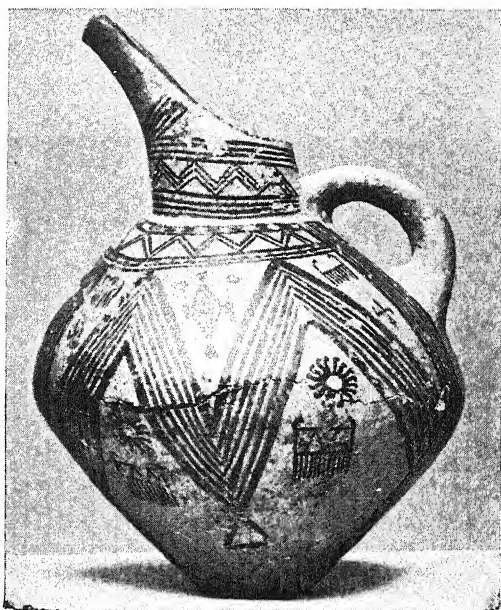
¹ Vgl. *CAH*, XI, 589 f.



1. Mud-brick houses at Kusura.



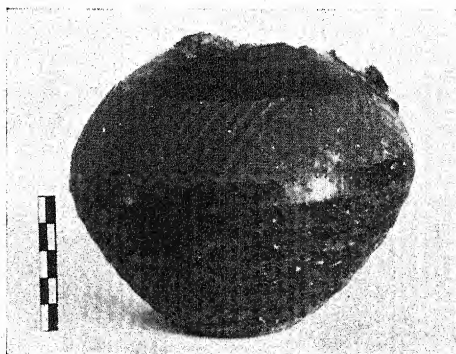
2. Wide-mouthed jug from Kusura.



3. Jug of Cappadocian ware in Berlin.



4. Jug from Yortan at Oxford.



5. Fragment of jug from Kusura.

SOME RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN ANATOLIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

by WINIFRED LAMB

List of Abbreviations

Anz. = *Archäologischer Anzeiger*.

JRAI = *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*.

MDOG = *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*.

OIP, VII = von der Osten and E. F. Schmidt, *The Alishar Hüyük, Season of 1927, Part II*.

OIP, XIX, XX = E. F. Schmidt, *The Alishar Hüyük, Seasons of 1928 and 1929, Parts I-II*.

OIP, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX = von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük, Seasons of 1930-32, Parts I-III*.

PFK = Bittel, *Prähistorische Forschung in Kleinasien*.

P of M = Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*.

SS = H. Schmidt, *Heinrich Schliemann's Sammlung Trojanischer Altertümer*.

Thermi = W. Lamb, *Excavations at Thermi in Lesbos*.

Türk Tarih = *Türk Tarih, Arkeologiya ve Etnografya Dergisi*.

Note on the Spelling of Turkish Names

All these are spelt on the Turkish system : ş = sh, ç = ch, c = j.

Acknowledgments

My thanks are due to Mr. E. T. Leeds for permission to publish the vase, Pl. IV, 4, from the Ashmolean Museum. Figs. 1, 7 and 9 are from *Archaeologia*, 86 ; Pl. IV, 1, 5 and Fig. 10 from *ibid.*, 87 ; Pl. IV, 3, from Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East*, II ; Figs. 2-6 from E. F. Schmidt, OIP, XIX ; Fig. 8 from *Anatolia Through the Ages*, by the same author. I am indebted to the Society of Antiquaries ; to the Royal Anthropological Institute and Professor Frankfort ; to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, its Press and Dr. E. F. Schmidt for kindly allowing me to reproduce these illustrations.

UNTIL a short while ago, the history of early Anatolia was more developed than its archaeology. Such a situation, by no means common, and all the more surprising in a department where most of our knowledge has been acquired during the last thirty-five years, is due in a large measure to the work done on the Bogazköy archives. Gradually we have been enabled to outline the sequence of events during the second millennium, to become acquainted with the personalities who played a part in forming the Hittite Empire, and to compare their laws and religious observances with those of other nations ; but the picture thus reconstructed has lacked background owing to our ignorance of the material culture of the Anatolian peoples. It is the function of the archaeologist to provide this background.

The present decade has been marked by intensive activity on the part of various expeditions which have taken advantage of the encouragement given by the Turkish Government to scientific enterprises, with the result that archaeology has made advances so rapid that they have, in a certain measure, been independent of history. Pottery, utensils, and human remains have been collected ; methods of building, ways of living and customs of burying have been recorded ; all this must, sooner or later, be reconciled with what we know of the Hittites, the Proto-Hatti, and other races to which the documents bear witness. It is difficult to decide at what stage we can safely start correlating the two branches of science ; among the most recent attempts made in that direction is the admirable chapter at the end of Bittel's *Bogazköy, die Kleinfunde*, I, which points out some of the problems and how they should be approached ; while much suggestive speculation has appeared from other quarters. The greatest difficulty which besets those who would pursue investigations further is that the historians and epigraphists on the one hand, and the archaeologists on the other have, in accordance with the modern tendency towards specialization, concentrated on their own subjects so exclusively that few are, like Dr. Bittel, adequately equipped to venture into the province of their opposite numbers. No such undertaking will be attempted in this paper, the purpose of which is to review those aspects of archaeology which may throw light on racial problems in Anatolia itself, or may be of use to excavators whose work lies in neighbouring

countries where the possibility of an Anatolian origin for alien phenomena must be considered.¹

For ourselves, the prehistory of Anatolia starts round about 3000 B.C., at a time when the uses of copper were understood, and the peoples who had established themselves on the central plateau and along the coasts were sufficiently tenacious to maintain their position till the beginnings of the historical period. There is indeed very little evidence concerning the cultures which antedate this phase: palaeolithic material is still scarce and unco-ordinated, while the only stratum which can claim to be neolithic is the lowest one at Kum Tepe in the Troad.² Here the pottery has the straight sides, thin rims and distinctive fabric which characterize neolithic wares in adjacent lands; here it was definitely unassociated with metal of any kind. The earliest wares from Alişar, particularly the elegant grey fruit-stands³ with their curiously Danubian profiles, were at one time believed to be neolithic but are now recognized as chalcolithic; they do not, however, concern us because we do not know in what relation their makers stood to the next occupants of the settlement. Nor can we profitably include in our survey the regions south-east of the Taurus, for what happened there before 2000 B.C. is obscure, and it will not be possible to weigh the Anatolian elements against the foreign influences that had percolated from Syria and the upper Euphrates valley till we learn the final results of Dr. Goldman's excavations⁴ and those of Professor Garstang in Cilicia.⁵ Likewise the far east must be omitted, for the only published site there, Şamramaltı,⁶ is too isolated, both literally and metaphorically, to be fitted into the picture. A vast

¹ A brief summary of evidence, archaeological and otherwise, with very complete references, will be found in Götze, *The Present State of Anatolian and Hittite Studies* (reprinted from *The Haverford Symposium on Archaeology and the Bible*), which supplements his contribution to *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients*. Von der Osten's latest publication on Alişar (*The Alişar Hüyük, Seasons of 1930-32 = OIP, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX*) appeared when my paper was going to press, but I have tried to add all essential references and to incorporate in my text any new material relevant to our enquiry.

² *AJA*, XXXIX, pp. 33, 34; Koşay and Sperling, "*Troad*" *da Dört Yerleşme Yeri*, pp. 24-52.

³ *PFK*, pp. 64-66, 108; *OIP*, XXVIII, pp. 52 ff.

⁴ Preliminary reports, *AJA*, XXXIX, pp. 526 ff.; XLI, pp. 262 ff.; XLII, pp. 30 ff.

⁵ Preliminary reports, *Liverpool Annals*, XXIV, pp. 52 ff.; XXV, pp. 12 ff. For references to Sakceğözü, see *PFK*, p. 131; add *Liverpool Annals*, XXIV, pp. 119 ff.

⁶ *PFK*, pp. 83 ff.; *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, XIX, pp. 280 ff. Other references, *PFK*, p. 132.

area remains, where are sites that have been excavated, tested, or merely explored superficially (Fig. 1).¹

Comparing the antiquities that they have produced, we shall find ourselves continually contrasting the central and eastern provinces with the western ones. This is inevitable, for east and west did not develop on the same lines; a different sequence of events

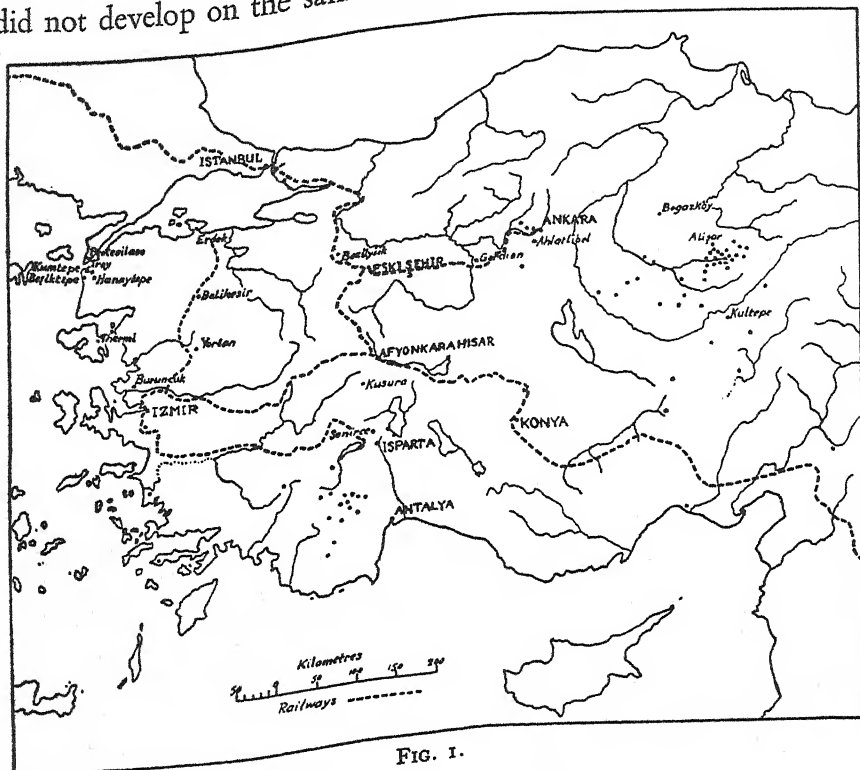


FIG. 1.

in each area imposes the need for different formulae in our descriptions; and many finds can easily be attributed to the one or to the other by reason of their style.² It must not be inferred that this contrast implies two races of alien stock: on the contrary, proofs of fundamental kinship continually present themselves, and even

¹ Fig. 1 shows only the chief sites mentioned in this paper. For more complete maps, see the one at the end of PFK, also OIP, XXX, Maps XV-XVIII.

² The division between east and west is discussed fully by Bittel, *Prähistorische Forschung in Kleinasien*. He considers that the salt steppes which run down to Konya are the boundary, but I am inclined to think that the transition was gradual, the boundary less clear. The points of contact between Kusura and Ahlatlibel (see below) support this theory.

the boundary between the two spheres of influence is less definite than at first appeared.

Our most practical course will be to examine first the *pottery*, an indestructible relic of bygone activity, and one which indicates quite clearly the main subdivisions of our period. Afterwards we shall be able to check or modify any conclusions which we may have drawn with the help of other branches of archaeology.

In both eastern and western Anatolia, monochrome vases—black, red, or intermediate shades—are the rule, painted ones (light on dark) the exception. The eastern group prefers one set of forms, the western another, and peculiarities of style and fabric emphasize the distinction. Closer inspection reveals that there are obvious local variations in the western group: Troy, the most important of the western cities, shows a preference for elongated necks and unexpected proportions; ¹ the cemeteries of Yortan and Babaköy near Balıkesir are characterized by a preponderance of globular jugs with cut-away necks (Pl. IV, 4)² or rimmed lips, collar-necked jars, and pyxides fashioned in admirable black or red-black clay; ³ the Lesbian vases, for all their variety, display a marked compactness and simplicity; ⁴ the region between İsbarta and Afyon ⁵ yields quantities of squat, wide-mouthed jugs (Pl. IV, 2), and exhibits the greatest ingenuity in plastic decoration. In each district, however, we find not a few vases which can be paralleled in one or more of the other districts. Nor can we draw a hard and fast topographical boundary between east and west in the third millennium, for eastern and western features are combined by the pottery of Ahlatlıbel near Ankara; ⁶ and the Ahlatlıbel wares can be linked up with some of those from the lower strata at Alaca Hüyük ⁷ beyond the Halys. Again, Hashüyük, ⁸ also east of the Halys, shares with Kusura and a cemetery between Kusura and Diner an unusual

¹ SS, pp. 1-125; *AJA*, XXXVIII, p. 230, Fig. 7; XXXIX, p. 556, Figs. 3, 4, 7, 8.

² From Yortan, in the Ashmolean Museum.

³ Typical Yortan vases, *BM Cat. Vases*, I, 1, Nos. A1-A66. A14 illustrates well the "rimmed lip." Babaköy, *Antiquity*, X, p. 361.

⁴ *Thermi*, pp. 73-135, Pls. VIII-XIII, XXXV-XXXVII.

⁵ *BSA*, XVIII, pp. 80-93, Pls. V-VII; XIX, pp. 56, 57; *Archaeologia*, 86, pp. 14-23, Pls. VI, VII.

⁶ *Türk Tarih*, II, pp. 12 ff.; *PFK*, 72-74, Pl. VI.

⁷ *Belleken*, I, pp. 225-226, Fig. 25.

⁸ Unpublished material in the Ankara Museum. References for the site, *PFK*, p. 127.

type of decoration, in which bands have been scraped away from a red-slipped surface and adorned with grooved or incised patterns (Pl. IV, 5).¹ Yet the lands within the bow of the Halys river are the headquarters of the eastern group, of which the chief representative up to date is Alişar I, with its bottles, side-spouted jugs, and red-rimmed bowls.² More tangible evidence of contact between west and east is given by the two-handled goblets of Troy, which were imported into and copied by Alişar I, Kültepe and other places: the implications of this question are discussed in Bittel's *Prähistorische Forschung in Kleinasien*, pp. 14-15, 68. The arguments for placing the end of Alişar I in the twenty-fourth or twenty-third centuries are sound but complicated, so I will merely refer the reader to pp. 14, 15 of the same book, and to *OIP*, XXX, pp. 419-420.³

An intruder into this realm of sober monochrome, the gay Cappadocian painted ware (Pl. IV, 3)⁴ appeared suddenly: while the date of its introduction can be approximately fixed round about 2300 B.C., and its cessation to somewhere in the first half of the second millennium, its origin is still a mystery. It has little in common with an odd painted style found in an earlier stratum at Alişar and at Hashüyük: ⁵ even if it had, our problem would not be much nearer solution, for we would still have to decide whence the fashion of using dark on light painted decoration was introduced. The Cappadocian vases,⁶ all of which are hand-made, have a limited distribution: ⁷ they are numerous in and near the province which bears their name, especially at Kültepe (Kara Hüyük); frequent at Alişar; rather scarce at Bogazköy, a city which was founded when they were already decreasing in popularity; absent at sites on the borderland of east and west, like Kusura.

¹ *Archaeologia*, 86, p. 17, Pl. VI, 13a; 87, p. 236, Pl. LXXXIII, 11. The vases from the cemetery are in the Afyon Museum. For other links between the eastern and western groups, see *ibid.*, pp. 236-237.

² *OIP*, XIX, pp. 41-47; XXVIII, pp. 151 ff.; *PFK*, pp. 66-67, Pl. XV.

³ Von der Osten believes that the Alişar I settlement on the citadel was destroyed in the twenty-fourth century, and suggests that the culture survived in the lower city.

⁴ This vase is in the Antiquarium, Berlin. Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East*, II, Pl. IX, 2.

⁵ *PFK*, p. 70.

⁶ *PFK*, p. 72; Bittel, *Bogazköy, Neue Untersuchungen*, pp. 36-38; *OIP*, XXVIII, pp. 230 ff.

⁷ See *OIP*, XXX, pp. 430, 431, with Map XVII.

Though they are the most conspicuous and were for a long time the best known of the Anatolian fabrics, they never established themselves firmly enough to supplant permanently the type of pottery native to the country. Very soon the monochrome tradition reasserted itself, but the new manifestation differed from the old, for the potter's wheel came into use together with unfamiliar forms and fresh technical devices. This group¹ is now generally called Hittite because it was associated with the chief Hittite centres, distributed over more or less the same area as the Hittite hegemony in Asia Minor, and, though starting a little earlier²—about 2100 B.C.—covered the same period as the Hittite dynasties. The new name implies no more than that the Hittites were the users of the pots, and has here the comprehensive and non-committal significance affected by and at present permitted to archaeologists.

Obviously it is of the utmost importance to decide whether this second monochrome style is the descendant of the first, for a connexion between the two would involve a connexion between the potters. The differences are obvious; how many of them, we wonder, are due to the changes which come when the wheel is used and the firing improved; to evolution, experiment, and occasional inspiration from foreign models? Among the resemblances, the most noticeable is the texture and finish of the clay in the more carefully made specimens: both classes achieve the same well-polished red slip, as striking as it is beautiful, though the later wares not unnaturally include many varieties such as the white slip and the "gold" surface not found in the early group, together with a large proportion of plain pots. The Hittite vases have an extensive repertory of shapes, the early monochrome style has a small one, but from this we may select the bowl, Fig. 2,³ as destined for long life, the cup, Fig. 3,⁴ as a possible ancestor of Fig. 4,⁵ adding from the new publications certain deep cups of which the Hittite edition, though a little more graceful, is essentially the same.⁶

¹ OIP, XIX, pp. 108-120; XXIX, pp. 110 ff.; PFK, p. 72; Bittel, *Bogazköy, Neue Untersuchungen*, pp. 34-38, *Bogazköy, die Kleinfunde*, I, pp. 35-56; MDOG, 75, pp. 35-40.

² PFK, pp. 14-15.

³ OIP, XIX, Pl. VII, b 2534, from Alisar I.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Pl. VII, b 2732, from Alisar, I.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Fig. 111, b 2472, from Alisar II.

⁶ Compare OIP, XXVIII, Pl. VIII, and OIP, XXIX, Pl. IV, with special reference to b 341, b 2810, c 775, and c 231.

Better still, there are flat bowls with ring handles from Alişar II curiously like the Ahlatlıbel bowls of the second millennium.¹ Dr. Bittel has already pointed out that the beaked jugs of Alişar II, Bogazköy, and other Hittite sites are found in the upper strata of Alişar I, and that the side-spouted jugs from Alişar I and contemporary settlements influenced future development. At the same time he has laid stress on the general structural similarity of form in

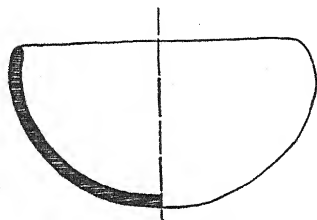


FIG. 2.

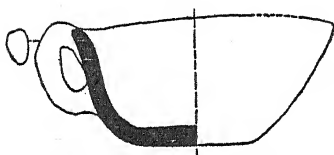


FIG. 3.

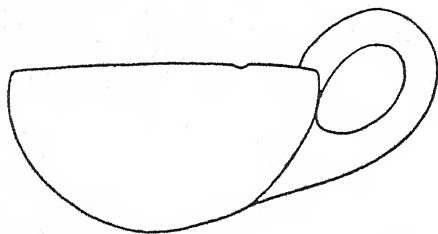


FIG. 4.

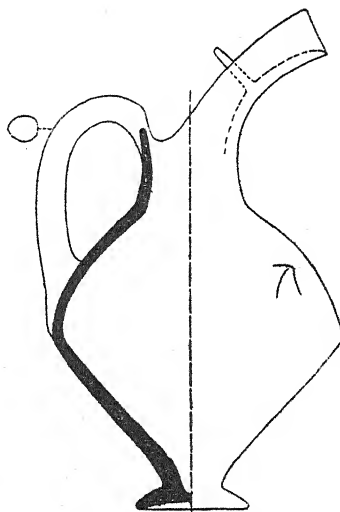


FIG. 5.

Alişar I and II, and on his conviction that this is not fortuitous.² That early western features can sometimes be encountered in the Hittite period is shown by the cut-away spout and shoulder-bosses on the jug in Fig. 5.³ Thanks to the stratification at Bogazköy, it is now possible to reconstruct the sequence of types between the twentieth and the twelfth century, and to check it with the help

¹ OIP, XXIX, Fig. 173, c 2131-2133 ; *Türk Tarih*, II, p. 52.

² PFK, pp. 67, 72. Von der Osten does not accept the theory of a connexion between Alişar I and II : OIP, XXX, pp. 444 ff.

³ OIP, XIX, Fig. 132 ; Pl. XII, b 2544.

of pictures on the Cappadocian seals.¹ The strata at Gözlü Kule (Tarsus) are also most illuminating, and Dr. Goldman's reports on her Hittite material, which stands in a definite relationship to Cyprus and the late Helladic granary class, enable us now to include Cilicia on our map of Hittite dependencies.²

At Kusura³ there is no painted interloper to disturb the procession of plain red, grey, and buff pottery. This circumstance is, however, less enlightening than it sounds, for the vases made on that site in the third millennium (Kusura B) are not eastern in character like those of Alişar I. The vases of the second millennium, on the other hand (Kusura C), can be linked with those which are contemporary at Alişar, Hashüyük, and Alaca,⁴ and, in spite of certain local peculiarities, may be called Hittite in the wider sense of the term. Nevertheless, there is no sudden break between Kusura B and C: the wares overlap, and, in the strata where they do so, dated to about the twentieth century by the appearance of red-cross bowls like those of Troy V,⁵ there is a transitional ware.⁶ It is turned on the slow wheel except for a few hand-made pieces, and is of buff or red clay, covered either wholly or in part with a bright red slip or a wash. Bowls are the most popular shape, and these gradually change from an early type, scarcely distinguishable from class B, to a late type which is the immediate forerunner of class C. The situation is a curious one, from which one might infer that an eastern element, always latent at Kusura, was reinforced and asserted itself till it obtained complete ascendancy.

Nearly all the western settlements that had flourished in the early age of metal were destroyed or abandoned at the time when Troy II perished, or just before. Some disappeared completely; some were reoccupied but had become enfeebled and impoverished; if any one of them prospered, it has at any rate escaped the eye of the explorer. This general eclipse must mirror some widespread catastrophe, or some great economic depression.

Troy recovered, and its fortunes can be traced through the

¹ Bittel, *Bogazköy, die Kleinfunde*, I, pp. 38 ff.; *MDOG*, 75, *loc. cit.* For the pictures on the seals, see de Genouillac, *Céramique Cappadocienne* I, pp. 48 ff.

² *AJA*, XXXIX, pp. 526 ff.; *XLI*, pp. 262 ff.; *XLII*, pp. 30 ff.

³ *Archaeologia*, 86, pp. 14 ff.; 87, pp. 235 ff.

⁴ Alişar, *OIP*, xxix, pp. 110 ff.; Hashüyük, p. 133, n. 8; Alaca, *Bulleten*, I, pp. 224-225.

⁵ *Archaeologia*, 86, p. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 87, p. 237.

centuries that followed the destruction of the second city, so that we have some knowledge of events which took place on the north-west frontier of our territory. Much of this knowledge we owe to the excavations of Professor Blegen and his colleagues, who have put all prehistorians in their debt. With the aid of objects imported from the Greek mainland, he has established an approximate chronology for the fifth, sixth, and seventh towns, a new and reliable *terminus ante quem* for the previous four, thus providing a standard to which other western sites can be referred.

The most salient facts are these: Troy II, to which we must for a moment return, began, in its later phases, to use the potter's wheel, to experiment with red wash on its pottery, and to make two-handled goblets.¹ From the 1937 report we learn that Early Helladic sherds were found not only in Troy II but also in the upper layers of Troy I.² In Troy III face urns are common together with plain, flaring bowls, a form which disappears in Troy IV.³ Peculiar to Troy V are the bowls decorated with a red cross inside; as this settlement has Early Helladic sherds in its lower strata, grey Minyan in its upper deposits,⁴ we can equate part of it with the twentieth century. Intensive study has also been given to the less remarkable forms and fabrics, enabling the excavators to ascertain exactly which kind of pottery belongs to each city; reinforcing our conviction that in spite of the changes introduced by succeeding generations, the ceramic tradition from Troy I to Troy V remains unbroken.

Nor does the locally made "Minyan" of Troy VI seem other than an Anatolian ware, monochrome like certain grey Hittite counterparts,⁵ the natural expression of a people who had always preferred pots without painted ornaments. That Troy VI was founded well back in the early years of the second millennium is now proved by the discovery of matt-painted sherds in its lower levels; that it survived into the late fourteenth century is equally evident owing to the presence of its upper levels of datable Mycenaean pottery.⁶ Yet, notwithstanding its commerce with the Aegean and its close contact with Macedonia, Troy was both too vital and too

¹ *AJA*, XXXIX, pp. 557-561; XLI, pp. 22-26, 555.

² *Ibid.*, XLI, p. 595.

³ *Ibid.*, XXXIX, p. 562.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, pp. 230, 233; XXXIX, p. 562; XLI, pp. 29, 595.

⁵ *MDOG*, 75, pp. 35, 36.

⁶ *AJA*, XXXVIII, p. 239; XXXIX, pp. 16, 17, 568; XLI, pp. 40-42, 595.

conservative ever to have lost its national character. Troy VIIa which, since it was burnt in the early years of the twelfth century, should correspond with the Homeric city,¹ marks the end of a chapter; for VIIb, with its *Buckelkeramik*, is one aspect of the disintegration which set in throughout Anatolia at the close of the bronze age.

By way of epilogue to this review of pottery, the Phrygian painted vases should be mentioned.² They do not belong to our period, for they were made after 1200 B.C., but they concern us for two reasons. In the first place, though there is a gap of over 300 years between them and the Cappadocian class, a slender connecting-link may exist.³ In the second place, a warning is necessary to the effect that only during the present decade have the Cappadocian and Phrygian pots been distinguished, a fact that must be borne in mind when reading anything published at an earlier date.

What help can the ethnologist obtain from antiquities of other kinds? It is, of course, inevitable that small objects, easily transported, and, in the case of metal, requiring a more than common technical skill, should tell a story different from that of the homely, brittle vases: sometimes this story will be relevant to our enquiry, sometimes not.

The *metal weapons, ornaments, and utensils* are a somewhat capricious guide in Anatolia, owing to their uneven distribution. During the third millennium, when even copper was comparatively rare, Troy and Alaca Hüyük⁴ were rich enough to stock the treasures of the one, the tombs of the other, while the majority of settlements, particularly in the east, were definitely poor: from the second millennium we have some interesting bronzes found in the east and south-east,⁵ and very little indeed from anywhere in the west except from that already cosmopolitan metropolis on the Dardanelles. Professor Childe⁶ has recently demonstrated how certain types, particularly the pins with double spiral heads and the

¹ *AJA*, XXXIX, pp. 550-551.

² Bittel, *Bogazköy, Neue Untersuchungen*, pp. 54-57; *OIP*, XXIX, pp. 350 ff.

³ Such as the rare dark on light Hittite wares from Bogazköy: see Bittel, *MDOG*, 75, pp. 36-40.

⁴ Alaca, p. 133, n. 7.

⁵ See Bittel, *Anz.*, 1934, pp. 349-359; Goldman, *AJA*, XLI, pp. 270-271; Przeworski, *Archiv Orientalní*, VII, pp. 396-414; VIII, pp. 49-67.

⁶ *Liverpool Annals*, XXIII, pp. 118, 119, Pl. LII.

copper stamp seals decorated with geometric patterns, mark a line of communication across North Persia and Asia Minor along the mountain zone; the importance of these types is definitely international, and the same is true of a number of others, though we cannot, in the present state of our knowledge, use any of them to trace the antecedents of the Indo-European Hittites. Equally premature would be any attempt to explain the more unfamiliar forms among the Alişar pins¹ and the more striking implements and ornaments from Alaca in the light of what we have learnt concerning the early Anatolian peoples. In the axes alone may the cautious student safely recognize the effect of historical events. Towards the end of the bronze age, shaft-hole axes (*Schaftlochhäxte*) and axes with lugs (*Ärmchenbeile*) of various forms challenge attention.² Surely these reflect the military activities of the later empire, which were part of the policy of Šuppiluliuma and his successors.

The *figurines*, whether of metal, stone, or terra-cotta, are a more repaying study, and an amusing one. Only the main groups need detain us, for detailed classification can never be exact owing to the very natural tendency of the ancient craftsman to vary his subject by combining different models.

Figures of animals may be grouped as follows:—

(1) Primitive quadrupeds, probably sheep or oxen, in terra-cotta (Fig. 7, No. 3).³ They occur at Alişar from the chalcolithic period onwards; ⁴ at Ahlatlıbel, Alaca Hüyük, Bogazköy, Troy, and Çukurkent; ⁵ and at Kusura,⁶ where they are, oddly enough, absent in the period contemporary with the Hittite Empire when they were specially common elsewhere.

(2) The bronze ox from Bogazköy (Hittite); together with the large terra-cotta Hittite oxen,⁷ may be interpreted as symbols of the ox-cult known from literary records and pictures on seals.⁸

¹ E.g. OIP, XIX, Fig. 202, b 1904. For this, see Mallowan, *The Excavations at Tall Chagar Bazar*, p. 27.

² See p. 139, n. 5; add OIP, XXIX, p. 253, and Fig. 286 on p. 261.

³ The objects in Fig. 7, from *Archaeologia*, 86, p. 29, Fig. 11, were found at Kusura.

⁴ PFK, p. 74; OIP, XIX, pp. 55, 140, and Figs. 174, 175 on pp. 138, 139; XXVIII, pp. 80, 81, 180, 182, 183; XXIX, pp. 193 198-202.

⁵ *Türk Tarih*, II, pp. 86, 87; *Beleiten*, I, Fig. 18; Bittel, *Bogazköy, die Kleinfunde*, I, p. 18; SS, 7644-7649; PFK, p. 41.

⁶ *Archaeologia*, 86, p. 30; 87, p. 252.

⁷ Bittel, *Bogazköy, die Kleinfunde*, I, pp. 4-5, 14-16, Pls. I, 2, X.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 16-18; Contenau, *La Glyptique syro-hittite*, pp. 86 ff.

(3) In Alişar I were unearthed flat stone animals, almost two-dimensional, and pierced as though for attachment (Fig. 6).¹

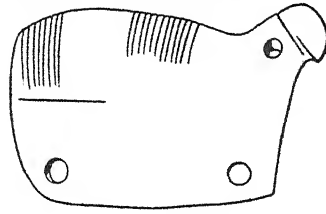


FIG. 6.

Whether they were palettes or not is uncertain. For these I know of no parallel elsewhere in Anatolia.

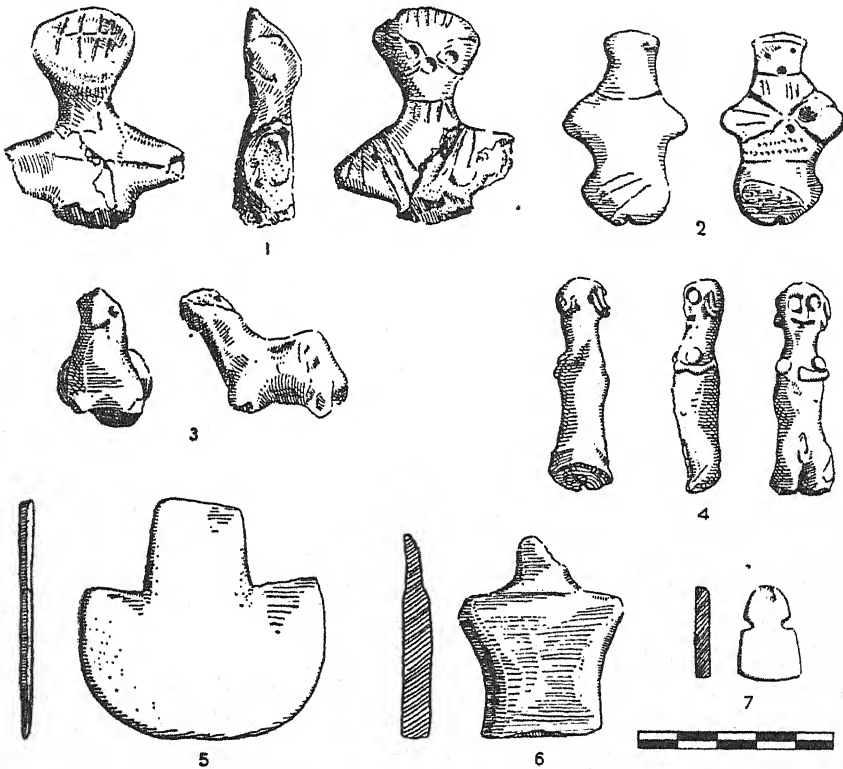


FIG. 7.

Human figures. The simplest types (stone and terra-cotta) comprise half-discs with projections above (Fig. 7, No. 5), fiddle-shaped idols, and forms like Fig. 7, Nos. 6 and 7. A further

¹ *OIP*, XIX, pp. 53, 55, Fig. 63; XXVIII, pp. 180, 181; *PFK*, p. 74.

development adds rudimentary arms; contamination with more advanced renderings may produce the stumpy legs of *PFK*, Pl. IX, 4. Nor can these figures, nearly all of which are female, be altogether dissociated from fat or crouching ones like those found at Antalya and Akhisar,¹ since the squatting position has been shown by Professor Myres and Sir Arthur Evans to have inspired the whole conception,² which may be expressed in three dimensions or in two. Within this group one could, of course, make several sub-divisions.³

Characteristic of many of its members are the lines crossing at some central point, as on Fig. 7, No. 2, and incised or punctured details are not infrequent (Fig. 7, No. 1). No examples have yet appeared in period A at Kusura, and at Thermi the first two towns only yielded the simplest form in marble, though this exists side by side with terra-cotta in Troy I.⁴ In the second millennium they are poorly represented,⁵ so we can fix the period of their greatest expansion to the middle centuries of the third millennium. Though not confined to Anatolia, they are very much at home there, and in their numerous guises they symbolized fertility to the more primitive races which composed the population.

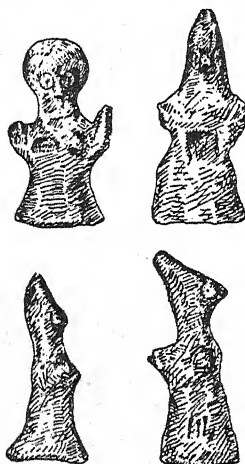


FIG. 8.

To the Hittite period we can assign a number of terra-cotta figurines where almost everything is rendered plastically, as in Fig. 7, No. 4. A type with fan-shaped conical head-dress (Fig. 8) is very common in Alişar II,⁶ which has also given us a series of interesting lead idols, male and female, together with a mould to show that they were made on the spot.⁷ There are other moulds from Akhisar.⁸ The well-known lead idol from Troy II finds its place

¹ *JRAI*, XXX, pp. 251 ff.; *BSA*, XIX, pp. 54-56, Fig. 3.

² *JRAI*, loc. cit.; *P of M*, I, pp. 45 ff.

³ As in *PFK*, pp. 74-75. See also V. Müller, *Frühe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien*, pp. 22-27.

⁴ *AJA*, XXXIX, pp. 552-553.

⁵ *PFK*, p. 76.

⁶ *OIP*, XIX, pp. 128 ff.; XXIX, pp. 193-196. Fig. 11 is from E. F. Schmidt, *Anatolia through the Ages*, p. 86, Fig. 125.

⁷ *OIP*, XIX, pp. 127, 128; XXIX, pp. 191-193; *PFK*, pp. 39, 40.

⁸ V. Müller, *op. cit.*, Pl. VI, 122, 123; *PFK*, p. 39, n. 3.

in this context, though Schliemann's record that it comes from the burnt city, if accurate, provides a chronological difficulty.¹ Certain bronze statuettes,² which can be linked by reason of their style to reliefs which are undoubtedly Hittite, deserve mention here but not description. Collected from sources other than stratified sites, they are the province of art criticism rather than archaeology, and so fall outside the scope of this paper.

In contrast to the figurines described above, which belong to large families, there are others whose relations are either few or foreign. Such are the two-headed products of Kültepe, with their possible parallels in Cyprus.³ The phalloid figures from Troy and Alişar are rarer than is commonly believed; the steatopygous women from Çukurkent are isolated;⁴ the quartette with large heads and leaf-shaped bodies published by Ormerod still awaits a home.⁵

It is not worth while to dwell on the *stone weapons and utensils*, of which the general level is undistinguished, and the most outstanding representatives, namely, the battle-axes,⁶ not peculiar to Anatolia. Indeed there remain only three classes for our consideration among the "small finds" from the excavated sites: the *stamp-seals* in materials other than metal—stone, terra-cotta and bone—which are scarce in the west;⁷ the *cylinder seals*, brought by contact with the Orient to central Anatolia and passed on to Troy;⁸ and the *lunate terra-cottas* or "*loom weights*" of Fig. 9,⁹ used, it would seem, all over the country in the second millennium.

By means of *sculpture* on the one hand, of *written records* on the other, a more direct approach can be made to the ruling caste, for whom such things were destined. But both these subjects demand

¹ SS, p. 255.

² Some of these are listed by V. Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-105; see Pl. XXXVI.

³ PFK, p. 76.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 39, 75.

⁵ BSA, XVI, p. 105; XIX, p. 58. There are a few other examples of this class, as far as I know unpublished, e.g. Berlin, 31457.

⁶ PFK, pp. 42-45; *Thermi*, pp. 182-185.

⁷ PFK, pp. 56, 80; *Archaeologia*, 86, pp. 30, 50, 54; OIP, XXVIII, pp. 183-85; XXIX, pp. 210 ff.

⁸ PFK, p. 80; OIP, XIX, pp. 142, 143; XXVIII, pp. 183, 184; XXIX, pp. 205 ff.; SS, 8868, 8869.

⁹ References, *Archaeologia*, 86, p. 34; 87, p. 256. Fig. 13 is from *op. cit.*, 86, p. 35, Fig. 15. SS, 8240, and *Ath. Mitt.* xxiv, Pl. iii, 32 should belong to this class.

treatment by an expert and the respectful tribute of many pages, neither of which can be given here.

The *architectural remains* observed in the settlements should give more human interest to our picture of prehistoric Anatolia. Of what shape were the houses, what were the systems of town-planning and to what extent were fortifications employed? These questions can only be partially answered until more evidence is forthcoming. The complete excavation of an ancient town, never easy, is in this country rendered more than usually difficult by the fact that most settlements are of the high, conical type called *Hüyük*; there have been various attempts, none completely satisfactory, to explain how this shape originated.¹

Turning to our first question, we may contrast the long, narrow groups of rooms which form the houses at Troy and Thermi with

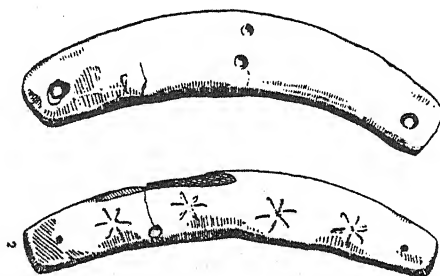


FIG. 9.

the irregular complexes of rooms in Alişar and Kusura B, that is, Kusura before 2000 B.C. (Pl. IV, 1; Fig. 10).² Evidently the former type was western: in its purest form, it became the megaron. Oddly enough, the very badly preserved buildings of the latest period at Kusura³ seem to be long and thin, a fact hard to reconcile with the predominance of the eastern element in the final stages of that town.

The most important building material for domestic architecture in ancient as in modern times was mud-brick (Pl. IV, 1), which was supplemented by stone and sometimes reinforced by wood. Space does not admit detailed descriptions, but it is permissible to refer

¹ PFK, pp. 24, 60.

² OIP, XIX, pp. 33-41, 81-108, 192-194; XXIX, Figs. 35, 36, Pls. XII-XVIII; *Archaeologia*, 87, pp. 220 ff. Our Fig. 10 is from *ibid.*, p. 224, Fig. 3.

³ *Archaeologia*, 86, pp. 11-14. For the megaron type at Gözlü Kule, see *AJA*, XLII, p. 33.

to such features as the employment over a wide area of "bothroi" and other pits,¹ the remarkable terra-cotta hearths of Alişar II,² and the tendency to make cupboard-like partitions, little platforms, and other permanent fixtures.

There is no town on the mainland of Asia Minor which has been sufficiently uncovered to indicate its general plan, though in Alişar II a system of streets radiating from a central point may have been adopted.³ This system seems to underlie the plans of the first

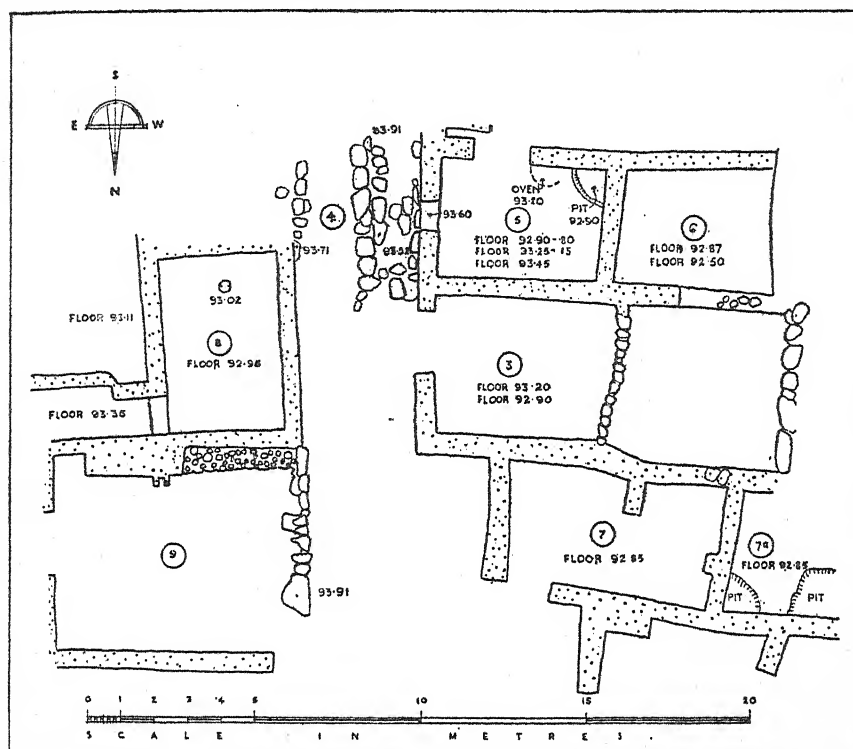


FIG. 10.

three settlements in Lesbos, but was later abandoned in favour of a new rectangular scheme.⁴ At major sites like Bogazköy and Alişar, a citadel was distinguished from a lower city, imposing, no doubt, a certain coherence in the arrangement of thoroughfares and buildings,

¹ *Thermi*, pp. 61-64; *Archaeologia*, 86, p. 12.

² *OIP*, XIX, pp. 86-89, 95-96; XXIX, pp. 22, 23.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 11.

⁴ *Thermi*, Plans 1-6.

and not without influence on social conditions. The need of fortifications was obviously felt at an early date : they become suddenly conspicuous in Thermi V,¹ and appear round the citadel of Alişar I ;² they are not even absent, as was formerly believed, in Troy I.³ During the second millennium, Troy on the one hand, Bogazköy and Alişar on the other, constructed the most impressive defensive systems, the ingenuity of the posterns and interior walls of the Hittite capital being particularly suggestive.⁴ We should have guessed, even if we had not known it already, that the inhabitants of the larger towns, aggressive and insecure, did not long enjoy the blessings of peace.

Nevertheless, the population as a whole seems to have flourished and used, to the best of its ability, the natural resources of the country. Then, as now, the wide grass-lands supported flocks of sheep and herds of cattle : their bones have been found in many places. Other animal bones have been identified as belonging to goats, pigs, deer, dogs and, in the Hittite period, horses.⁵ The domestication of both horses and donkeys in the east is attested by other sources. Among the craftsmen and tradesmen were potters, smiths, workers in stone and bone ; masons quarried and hewed remarkably large blocks of stone ; wood-cutters exploited the forests ; the raw material for metal work was procured ; many householders, like their modern successors, must have employed the interlude after the harvest in making their own mud-bricks. Meanwhile the women wove and span, cooked and, no doubt, helped in the fields, earning our gratitude the while by the amount of interesting rubbish they allowed to accumulate round their homes. Contrasting with the rural, self-contained life of the people as a whole was the urban life of the large cities. There foreign traders maintained contact with other countries ; financial connexions necessitated the careful organization described by the documents of the Cappadocian bankers at Kültepe ; the scribes of the second

¹ *Thermi*, pp. 43-47.

² *PFK*, p. 62 ; *OIP*, XXVIII, pp. 116, 118-120 ; XXIX, pp. 290-1.

³ *AJA*, XXXIX, p. 553 ; XLI, p. 28.

⁴ See the excellent summary in Bittel, *Die Ruinen von Bogazköy*, pp. 13-33. For the development of fortifications at Alişar, see *OIP*, XXVIII, *loc. cit.* and pp. 210 ff. ; *OIP*, XXIX, pp. 4-10, 290 ff. ; *OIP*, XXX, 420, 428, 434.

⁵ *PFK*, pp. 58, 81-82 ; *Thermi*, p. 216 ; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV, p. 15 ; *Belleten*, I, p. 227 ; *AJA*, XLI, p. 597 ; *OIP*, XXX, pp. 294 ff.

millennium recorded laws and historical events which the librarians filed with exemplary care ; princes went to war both near home and abroad ; and the Hittite Empire became one of the most important political powers of the middle east.

Thus rich and poor passed their days. The disposal of the dead was subject to a variety of practices which cannot, apparently, be classified according to locality. Extramural cemeteries have been found at Yortan,¹ Babaköy near Balıkesir, and Kusura ;² on the other hand, at Hanay Tepe³ in the Troad, bodies of adults were interred within the settlement ; so too, at Alişar⁴ (all periods) and Ahlatlıbel,⁵ which survived till about 2200 B.C. The burial of children in the house was even more widespread. For adults as for children a contracted position is commonest, though both flexed and extended bodies occur in Alişar II, some of the latter being in a burial chamber and neatly accommodated in more than one jar laid end to end. Bodies were normally placed in jars, but cist-graves exist as well as pithos-burials in Alişar I and II, Kusura and Ahlatlıbel ; mud-brick graves but no pithoi, as far as we know, at Hanay Tepe ; while a " cist-like space among stones " marks a tomb in Troy II.⁶ Burials in plain earth were noted in Alişar I, II, and III,⁷ in the lower strata of Bogazköy,⁸ at Kusura,⁹ Hanay Tepe, and Kum Tepe, where they are both contemporary with and anterior to Troy I.¹⁰

The imposing grave chambers of Alaca Hüyük stand apart.¹¹ Their walls are of stone ; the roofs appear to have been of branches covered with clay and supported on poles ; and one chamber measures as much as 3.75 × 4.60 × 3.95 m. Two of the chambers contained single individuals, the only well-preserved skeleton being in a contracted position ; the third held two bodies, one earlier, the

¹ References for Yortan, *Thermi*, p. 85, n. 1.

² *Archaeologia*, 86, pp. 54 ff. Evidence for placing the Kusura cemetery in the earliest period of the site, pp. 16, 58, 59.

³ Calvert, in Schliemann, *Ilios*, pp. 708, 712-713.

⁴ *OIP*, VII, pp. 1 ff. ; XIX, pp. 72-78, 181-190, 210-212 ; XXVIII, pp. 42 ff., 112 ff., 135 ff., 223 ff. ; XXIX, pp. 84 ff. ; XXX, pp. 423, 429, 437.

⁵ *Türk Tarih*, II, pp. 88-100.

⁶ *AJA*, XLI, p. 27.

⁷ Alişar III began before Alişar II : see *PFK*, p. 13 ; *OIP*, XXVIII, Fig. 281.

⁸ *MDOG*, 74, pp. 9-11 ; 75, pp. 16-17.

⁹ *Archaeologia*, 86, p. 63.

¹⁰ *AJA*, XXXIX, p. 34 ; Koşay and Sperling, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-51.

¹¹ *Belleten*, I, pp. 214-217, 226-229 ; *Illustrated London News*, April 9, 1938, pp. 632-633.

other later. Quantities of animal bones accompanied the dead, to whose wealth and rank the grave-goods—gold, silver, and copper vessels, horse-trappings, statuettes, jewelry, and pottery—bear witness. The copper stags deserve special mention, particularly the magnificent beast whose back and neck are inlaid with silver.¹ Some of the vases have an unusual decoration of granular impressions,² but the shapes and technique of the pottery as a whole, as well as the stratification of the tombs and the settlement wherein they lie, point to a date not far removed from that of Ahlatlibel, in other words, between 2500 and 2000 B.C. There is, it is true, a seal which does not look early in the inventory of objects from the highest tomb; none the less, this tomb, as explained in the excavation report,³ cannot be dissociated from the others or belong to any period except the copper age.

It is significant that at two important centres, namely Troy and Bogazköy, cremation was introduced in the second half of the second millennium. Urns with ashes and charred bones inside have now been found in an extramural cemetery belonging to the later part of Troy VI,⁴ while at Bogazköy a newly discovered text describes a ritual involving the burning of the deceased.⁵ Whether this practice came from the Balkans or Palestine or somewhere else must now be ascertained, and how far it is symptomatic of that widespread change which affected the Near and Middle East at the beginning of the iron age.

Information collected from a few sites, as our account of burial customs has been, may soon require modification. An even more constricted field is the study of physical remains, though one or two reports on recently excavated skulls are due to appear shortly. Whilst waiting, we should do well to ignore isolated examples, or groups of which the stratigraphic context is not well authenticated. We know that the skulls from Alişar I are dolicho- to mesocephalic: that those from Alişar II and, as far as we can judge, from Alişar III

¹ *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*; *Belleten*, I, Fig. 40. The bronze or copper horse or ass above a rein-ring in Berlin (*Berliner Museen*, 50, pp. 68 ff.; *Liverpool Annals*, XVII, p. 3, Pl. II, b, c) have points in common with the stag. Compare also the rein-ring in the Louvre, *Syria*, XII, pp. 48 ff., Pls. XX, XXI, 1, 2. We shall be able to estimate the connexion when all the Alaca bronzes have been cleaned.

² *Belleten*, I, Figs. 24, 42.

⁴ *AJA*, XXXIX, pp. 26-30.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

⁵ *MDOG*, 75, pp. 14-18, 68.

are, on the whole, brachycephalic, and differ in other respects from the type found in the preceding strata.¹ Also brachycephalic are the skulls from Alaca,² which, as we have seen, should belong to the earlier period. The interesting publications of the Alişar skeletons emphasize the dissimilarity between the actual crania of the Hittite period on the site in question and the heads illustrated on ancient monuments.³

In making this survey of Anatolian prehistory, I have tried to indicate which are the chief landmarks—those aspects of the national culture least likely to be modified by factors as yet unknown. But, just as a map in its earliest stages includes features not authenticated by cross-bearings, so my paper contains points which, when viewed from another angle, will require readjustment. Accepting the fact that future discoveries will not only enlarge, but will inevitably change our outlook, I venture to put forward some conclusions which the present position seems to justify.

(1) In the third millennium, the civilizations of eastern and western Anatolia (omitting the "far east" and the extreme south-east, from which further evidence is required) have a fundamental similarity, suggesting that the natives were of kindred stock.

(2) There are differences between east and west: some can be accounted for by the proximity of the west to the Aegean and by intercourse between the east and its foreign neighbours; some are the result of local isolation; some may possibly correspond to a difference, not very deep-seated, in the population.

(3) Strangers, of doubtful antecedents, arrived between 2400 and 2200 B.C. and introduced the painted Cappadocian ware. By the middle of the second millennium they must have been absorbed, for their handiwork is no longer recognizable.

(4) In the second millennium, a large bulk of the population in central and eastern Anatolia shows distinct affinities with the earlier inhabitants, if we trust the testimony of the pottery. The admixture of another physical type is, however, proved for one of the major sites. The north-west, known from Troy and its neighbours, contains a strong indigenous element, but has developed independently

¹ OIP, XX, pp. 127-130; XXX, pp. 213 ff.; *Türk Antropologi Mecmuası*, 1930, No. 10; 1934, Nos. 15, 16.

² *Belleiten*, I, pp. 180-202.

³ OIP, XX, pp. 135-7; XXX, pp. 271, 276.

from the east, accentuating the contrast between the two areas. There are, however, signs that contact was maintained. What happened in the south-west is still a mystery. That the central peoples extended their sphere of influence westward is demonstrated by Kusura, a pleasant instance of the confirmation of history by excavation.

(5) There exists in central and eastern Anatolia a body of material obviously made for and associated with the ruling caste. This material includes buildings, sculpture, and written documents : outside the frontiers of the Empire, it is found in the colonies which survived the mother-country. In studying it we are at length brought into touch with the Hittites in the strict philological sense of the term, that is, the users of the more or less Indo-European language of the Bogazköy texts.

Some day ethnologists, historians, and archaeologists may be equipped with sufficient data to assign each class of antiquities to the race which made them ; to assess with reasonable accuracy the part played by the Indo-European Hittites, the Proto-Hatti, the Luvians, and the rest in producing the remains unearthed by the spade ; to trace the origins of the various peoples and cultural elements. Let us hope that progress will be as steady in future years as it has been in the past, so that the solution of these problems may not be too long delayed.

UNSEMITISCHE ORTSNAMEN IN NORDSYRIEN

von ENNO LITTMANN

IN meinem Aufsatz "Zur Topographie der Antiochene und Apamene" (Zeitschr. f. Semitistik u. verwandte Gebiete, Bd. I, S. 165) wies ich darauf hin, dass ich von den vorsemitischen Ortsnamen in Nordsyrien demnächst eine kurze Zusammenstellung zu geben hoffte. Das Material dazu hatte ich in den Jahren 1916-18 gesammelt; nur wenige Namen wurden später hinzugefügt. Zu einer wirklich wissenschaftlichen und gründlichen Bearbeitung der Siedlungsgeschichte des alten Nordsyriens, wie sie sich in den Ortsnamen darstellt, fehlen mir Zeit und Musse; für die aramäische Periode habe ich in dem oben erwähnten Aufsatz einige Angaben gemacht. Nun gibt es in Syrien bis auf den heutigen Tag eine ganze Anzahl von Ortsnamen, die weder semitisch noch indogermanisch, noch türkisch zu sein scheinen. Wer in Nordsyrien reist und die Namen Armenâz, Seğêrâz u.ä. hört, sagt sich alsbald, dass dies Namen sind, die einer nichtsemitischen und nichtgriechischen Sprache angehören; das Türkische kommt nicht in Betracht, da Armenâz bereits in vortürkischer Zeit vorkommt. Und wer dort bei Tḵâd bzw. Tokâd vorbeikommt, denkt alsbald an die Stadt Tokat in Kleinasien und an den davon abgeleiteten türkisch-armenischen Namen Tokatlian in Konstantinopel. Namen dieser Art nenne ich hier "unsemitisch," um den für jene Gegenden etwas unklaren Ausdruck "vorsemitisch" zu vermeiden. Allerdings sind auch die griechischen, türkischen, kurdischen und armenischen Namen "unsemitisch"; aber diese schliesse ich hier aus, und darum lautet der Titel meines Beitrags nicht "Die unsemitischen Ortsnamen in Nordsyrien." Ob einige der von mir gesammelten Namen aus der Mitanni-Sprache stammen, kann ich nicht beurteilen. Am ehesten könnte man vielleicht sagen "Kleinasiatische

Ortsnamen," da die meisten von ihnen aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach mit Kleinasien zusammenhängen.

Ed. Meyer sagt in seinem Buche *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* (Berlin, 1914), S. 3: "Andererseits werden wir auch die älteste Bevölkerung Nordsyriens und des nördlichen Mesopotamiens dieser kleinasiatischen Volksgruppe zurechnen dürfen: auch hier sind alle älteren Ortsnamen bis nach Damaskus hinab nicht semitisch." Aber um die Bezeichnung "kleinasiatisch" mit Sicherheit zu begründen, müsste die Untersuchung viel weiter ausgreifen, als es mir möglich ist.

Auf nichtsemitische oder vorsemitische Ortsnamen in Palästina und Syrien ist auch sonst schon öfters hingewiesen. Man denke nur an Damascus und Karkemisch. H. Grimme wollte den Namen Jerusalem aus Kleinasien herleiten (*Oriental. Lit.-Ztg.*, Bd. 16, 1913, Sp. 152-157). M. Lidzbarski vermutete in den Namen von Aleppo, Homs, Hamā und Hadrakh semitisierte, am ehesten chetitische Formen (*Ephem. f. semit. Epigr.*, III, S. 175). Die Verfasser von Geschichtswerken über das Volk Israel betonten mehrfach das Vorkommen von nichtsemitischen Namen in Palästina und führten Beispiele an; zusammenfassend berichtete darüber W. Borée, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas*, Leipzig, 1930, S. 112-120. R. Dussaud wies in seinem monumentalen Werk *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* gelegentlich auf diese Probleme hin. Weiterhin vergleiche man F. Bilabel, *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Ägyptens vom 16.-11. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, S. 245, 260, 281.

Wenn ich nun das von mir gesammelte Material, das auf Vollständigkeit keinerlei Anspruch macht und durch weiteres Nachsuchen sehr vermehrt werden könnte, hier mitteile, so bin ich mir wohl bewusst, wie viele Fehlerquellen darin enthalten sind. Manches Unsichere habe ich weggelassen; aber auch in dem, was ich gebe, wird noch manches unsicher sein. Die Erklärung von Eigennamen ist an und für sich sehr schwierig, zumal sie ja oft im Laufe der Zeit ihre Formen verändern. Da ich nur solche Namen gebe, die ich auf neueren Karten und in neueren Reisewerken gefunden habe, so mag manch einer von ihnen in früherer Zeit anders ausgesehen haben, als er jetzt aussieht; unsemitische Namen mögen semitisiert oder türkisiert sein. Vor nichtsemit. Namen tritt zuweilen ein aram. Wort wie *b* (*bēt*), "Haus," *dēr* "Kloster,"

kefr, "Dorf." Einige Namen mögen auch anders etymologisiert und eingereiht werden, als es hier geschehen ist. Um ganz sicher zu sein, müsste man Literaturen verschiedenster Art nach diesen Namen durchsuchen; doch das ist mir unmöglich. So gebe ich denn gewissermassen nur das Rohmaterial und hoffe, dass Kenner der hier in Betracht kommenden Literaturen und Sprachen dadurch zu weiteren Forschungen angeregt werden.

Für die genaue Umschreibung der heutigen Aussprache kann ich nur bei solchen Namen bürgen, die ich selbst auf meinen Reisen in Nordsyrien (1899/1900 und 1904/5) gehört habe, und das ist nur ein kleiner Teil des Ganzen; bei den anderen muss ich mich auf meine Gewährsmänner verlassen.

P. Kretschmer hat in seiner epochemachenden *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* die Suffixe zusammengestellt, die in den kleinasiatischen Sprachen zur Bildung von Personennamen und Ortsnamen verwendet wurden. Einige davon finden sich hier wieder und weisen von Nordsyrien nach Kleinasien. Personen- und Ortsnamen hängen oft miteinander zusammen, und so mögen Suffixe von nordsyr. Ortsnamen auch mit denen von kleinasiat. Personennamen verglichen werden. Neben dem Buche von Kretschmer kommt das Buch von Joh. Sundwall, *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier nebst einem Verzeichnisse kleinasiatischer Namenstämme* (Leipzig, 1913), hier zum Vergleich in Betracht.

Ich gebe zunächst die Namen aus Nordsyrien und den angrenzenden Gebieten systematisch nach Suffixen geordnet und dann ein alphabetisches Verzeichnis mit kurzen Angaben über die Lage. Weitere Literaturangaben können bei der Beschränktheit des Raumes nur in wenigen Fällen gemacht werden. Ausser auf die in II unter "Abkürzungen" genannten Quellen sei hier noch besonders verwiesen auf die Karten von R. Dussaud (*Topographie historique*) und die Deutsche Generalstabskarte. Für einige wenige Orte stand mir 1916-1918 eine türkische Generalstabskarte zur Verfügung. Die neueren französischen Karten, die von R. Dussaud verwertet werden konnten, waren mir unzugänglich.

I

DAS s- SUFFIX

Es erscheint als z, s, und š mit langen und kurzen vorhergehenden Vokalen verschiedener Qualität.

-āz: Armenāz; Balkurāz; Ğerġanaz (wohl -āz); Kernāz; Kumināz; Mar'anāz; Seġerāz; Sofrāz oder Syrfāz; Siwāz (?); Taftenāz.

-īz: Kirkīz. -ōz: Dalābōz. -ūz: 'Allārūz; Antūz; Arsūz; Ḥallūz.

-iz: Berliz; Birtiz; Kēfiz; Killiz.

-āš: Berkāš; Dibbāš; Tintāš. -īš: Šendrīš.

-ūš: Derkūš; Harbanūš. In anderen Fällen gehört diese Endung nicht hierher; so in Merrūš und 'Allūš, die nach Hartmann, ZDPV, Bd. 14, S. 229 (zu Nr. 15 und 20), Koseformen für Maryam und 'Ali sind. Auch in Bṭammūš "Haus des Ṭammūš" (*ibid.*, S. 223, Nr. 39) wird eine aramäisch-arabische Koseform vorliegen. Unsicher ist die Notiz bei Berggren: "Guide français-arabe," Sp. 244: "un couvent catholique situé dans une ville, est souvent appelé anthoūsch."

-īš: Binniš; vgl. Karkemiš.

-as: Amas (oder Amās). -ās: Baghrās. -es: Dēhes.

-is: Millis; Kirdellis. -us: Ob Fātus hierher gehört, ist unsicher; vielleicht ist es ein entstellter Name von anderer Herkunft wie z. B. Furklus von Proclis.

DAS l- SUFFIX

Dies Suffix kommt mit a, e, i, o, u, vor, am meisten mit i. Bei den -il- Formen ist die Ableitung manchmal unsicher. Einerseits kann -il gelegentlich das türkische Wort für "Stammesabteilung" sein (vgl. ZDPV, Bd. 23, S. 127, Anm. 2, u. die Wörterbücher), und andererseits kann die Endung til dem arabischen tell "Hügel" entsprechen, mit der Variante dil, und in türkischer Weise nachgesetzt sein. Ebenso könnte in Zergil das kurdische Wort gil "Hügel" enthalten sein, gleichfalls in türkischer Weise nachgestellt. Daher ist gerade bei diesen Namen noch manches zweifelhaft.

-al: Jural; Zaidal. **-el:** Kursel.

-il: Achraïl (?); Kefr Ambil; Ardyl (?); Bajil; Benābil; Bismil (?); Fastil (?); Kertil (?); Körtil (?); Kurzāhil; Manil; Merichdil (?); Minatil (?); Minil; Rāil (?); Rašil; Dēr Sambil; Sarebil; Saril; Sülemtil (?); Terentil (?); Tibil; Zergil (?). Vielleicht ist **-bil** (in Benābil, Dēr Sambil, Sarebil, Tibil) ein eigenes Suffix. Es sei noch bemerkt, dass auch im Kaukasus-Gebiet manche Ortsnamen auf **-il** vorkommen.

-ol: Sinibbol. **-ul:** Nubbul; Orul; Ülbül.

DAS SUFFIX **-dīn**

Eine Anzahl von Namen ist mit dem Suffix **-dīn** zusammengesetzt, das, wie schon M. Hartmann sah (ZDPV, Bd. 14, S. 233), mit arab. **dīn** "Religion" nichts zu tun hat. Daneben scheint die phonetische Variante **-tīn** vorgekommen zu sein: Beledīn; Fāfirtīn; Ġāgdīn; Iğdīn; Kdīn; Kefrēdīn; Kiftīn; Kfel-lūdīn; Klaidīn; Serdīn, das aus Serrēdīn verkürzt zu sein scheint; Šuwēdīn (?); Terdīn.

DAS SUFFIX **-men**.

Wer von Smyrna aus mit der Bahn ins Innere gefahren ist, erinnert sich der Station mit dem sonderbaren Namen **Menemen**. Das darin enthaltene Suffix **-men** scheint in Nordsyrien wiederzukehren: **Hulmen**; **Keremen**; **Merzimen**; **Tulmen**. Da aber auch ein **n-** Suffix für kleinasiatische und palästinische Namen nachgewiesen ist, könnte man **-men** in **m + en** zerlegen. Zu **-en** gehört dann auch **Erzen**, und vielleicht ist das **n-** Suffix auch in anderen auf **-n** ausgehenden Namen enthalten, wie z. B. in **Ibbīn**, das aber aramäisch sein kann, und in manchen anderen Namen auf **-īn**, u.a. **Kfellūsīn**.

DAS SUFFIX **-nd-**

Die mit **-nd-** gebildeten Ortsnamen sind für Kleinasien besonders charakteristisch; vgl. Kretschmer, *a.a.O.*, S. 307 ff., wo vorher auf den Wechsel **-nt-** und **-nd-** aufmerksam gemacht ist. Ein paar

Beispiele deuten für Nordsyrien ähnliches an. Neben **Meilend** (**Mlend**) und **Ṭurunda** stehen **Kursente** und **Bšindelinte**. Der letzte Name wird in **B** + **šindel** + **inte** zu zerlegen sein. Das **B** steht für syr. **bēt** "Haus." Der mittlere Teil des Namens ist auch in **Bšindelāyā** enthalten, das wiederum eine aram. Endung hat. Ob **Berbend** auch hierher gehört oder ob es persisch-kurdischen Ursprungs ist, bleibe dahingestellt.

SPREU

Auf **Toḳād** ist schon oben hingewiesen, und wie **Tokat** und **Amasia** in Kleinasien nicht weit voneinander liegen, so auch **Toḳād** und **Amas** in Nordsyrien. Der Ort **Idlib** in Nordsyrien ist bekannt; er scheint mit einem Suffixe **-ib** gebildet zu sein wie **Nizib** und **Tinnib**. Ein **b**-Suffix erinnert alsbald an **Haleb** (Aleppo); vielleicht liegt es auch vor in **-tāb** (**-ṭāb**), das mit den semit. **‘ain** und **kefr** zusammengesetzt ist (**‘Aintāb** und **Kefr Ṭāb**), wenn nicht **‘Aintāb** zur Hälfte semitisiert ist. Dagegen ist es wohl kaum identisch mit dem **b** in **Nērab**, dem Namen des Ortes, der durch seine altaram. Inschriften berühmt geworden ist; denn dieser ist wahrscheinlich aus dem akkad. **nēribu** "Pass, Schlucht," abgeleitet, das im Syrischen (**nēreḥḥā**) auch "Gipfel" bedeuten soll.—In dem Namen **Kefrmū** ist **Kefr** das aram. Wort oder ist ihm angeglichen, während **-mū** an **Panammu** und **Kalammu** und an die vielen mit **-muwa** gebildeten Namen Kleasiens erinnert.—Ein eigenartiges Kompositionselement ist **ṭat** in **Ṭatmarāš**, **Ṭaṭhums**, **Kefr Ṭāt**, **Sūrṭāt**. Ob es mit kleinasiat. **tata**, **tatta** (Kretschmer, *a.a.O.*, S. 348) zusammenhängt, ist sehr die Frage, zumal das kleinasiat. Element ein Lallwort für Personennamen ist. Aber semitisch scheint es auch nicht zu sein. Ist **ṭat** ein fremdes Element, so wird man **-marāš** auch zu **Mar‘aš** stellen; das **‘** kann leicht wegen des **r** entstanden sein wie in arab. **‘Ammūriya** = **‘Αμόριον**.

II

ALPHABETISCHE LISTE DER BESPROCHENEN ORTSNAMEN

ABKÜRZUNGEN

AE = Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria, Part I, New York, 1914.

HH = M. Hartmann, Das Liwa Haleb (Aleppo) und ein Teil des Liwa Dschebel Bereket, in der *Zeitschr. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde*, Bd. XXIX.

HL = M. Hartmann, Das Liwa el-Ladkije und die Nahije Urdu, in der *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Palästina-Vereins (ZDPV)*, Bd. XIV, 1891.

Jac. = Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch, hrsg. v. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1866-70.

KK, Bl. = H. Kiepert, Karte von Kleinasien, Blatt. . . .

KO = Karte von R. Kiepert bei v. Oppenheim, "Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf," die auch in AE zugrunde gelegt ist.

PE = Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria, Division I, Leyden, 1930.

TAA = Littmann, Zur Topographie der Antiochene und Apamene, in der *Zeitschr. f. Semitistik u. verwandte Gebiete*, Bd. I.

Die Umschrift ist etwas vereinfacht; für **dsch** setze ich stets **ğ**, für **sch** stets **š**. Lange Vokale nach Massgabe der Quellen, nur mit Längezeichen und ohne Zirkumflex.

Die Buchstaben **s** und **š**, stehen bei **s**, **t** steht bei **t**. Die Lage bekannter grösserer Orte ist nicht angegeben.—**Ğ** = *Gebel*, "Berg, Gebirge."

Achra'il: zwischen Aleppo und Killiz; KO.

'Aintāb: n. von Aleppo.

'Allarūz: im **Ğ. Rihā**; AE, S. 107; Dussaud, *Topogr. histor.*, S. 167 f., 176 f., 192.

Amas: in neuerer Zeit noch nicht wieder identifiziert; zwischen Kennešrīn (Chalkis) und Antiochien; im Mittelalter Amis, Honigmann in *Z. Sem. I*, S. 23; TAA, S. 174; vgl. Amasia in Kleinasien.

Ambil in *Kefr Ambil* "Dorf Ambil": im **Ğ. Rihā**; AE, S. 116.

Antūz: HL, 231, Nr. 32.

Arđyl (?): n.ö. von 'Aintāb; so nach KK, Bl. Malatja. Türk. Karte hat Erzenil.

Armenāz: am W.-Abhang des **Ğ. il-A'la**; AE, S. 108; in syr. u. arab. Literatur und in einer arab. Inschrift erwähnt.

Arsūz: HH, S. 494, XIII.

Baghrās: zwischen Iskenderūne und Antiochien; Jac., I, 693.

Bajil: bei Adijaman, KK, Bl. Malatja.

Balkurāz: in Tell Balkurāz, am Euphrat zwischen Bireğik und Chalfati.

Beledin: w.s.w. von Bireğik; Türk. Karte.

Benābil: im **Ğ. il-A'la**; AE, S. 110; vgl. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze d. byzantin. Reiches*, S. 8, 35, wo das mesopotam. Benābil besprochen ist.

Berbend (?): HH, S. 514, Nr. 23.

Berkāš: HH, S. 514, Nr. 9.

Berliz: n. von Mar'aš; KK, Bl. Malatja.

Binniš: n.ö. von Idlib; AE, S. 110; PE, S. 59.

Birtiz: n.ö. von Mar'aš; KK, Bl. Malatja.

Bismil (?): ö. von Dijār Bekr am Tigris.

Bšindelāyā u. Bšindelinte : im Ġ. il-A'la ; AE, S. 110 ; TAA, S. 180.

Dalābōz : w.s.w. von Ḥomṣ ; KO.

Damascus.

Dēhes : im Ġ. Bārišā, bekannt durch eine syr. Inschrift (AE, IV, S. 23 ff. ; PE, IV, B, S. 64).
Wie sich Mēhes (G. L. Bell, *The Desert and the Sown*, S. 297, 302) dazu verhält, ist nicht ersichtlich.

Dēr Sambil s. Sambil.

Derkūš : am Orontes, n. von Ġisr iṣ-Šuġr ; Jac., II, 569. Wohl aus dēr (syr. u. arab. "Kloster") und kūš zusammengesetzt. Davon ist Dreikūš, n.w. von Ḥomṣ im Nosairier-Gebirge, ein arabisches Diminutivum.

Dibbāš : HL, S. 218, Nr. 30.

Erzen : mehrfach belegt, u.a. ZDPV, Bd. 23, S. 24, Nr. 274, in der syrischen Steppe, ferner n. von Payas, etwas landeinwärts vom Golf von Iskenderūne ; vgl. Erzerūm als Erzen er-Rūm (Erzen-i Rūm) u. oben Ardyl ; Jac., I, 205 f.

Fāfirūn : im ö. Teile des Ġ. Sim'an ; PE, S. 73 ; Bell, *The Desert and the Sown*, S. 274, 282.

Fastil (?) : w. von Chalfati ; Türk. Karte.

Fātlus (?) : im w. Teile des Ġ. Rihā ; AE, S. 114.

Ġāḡdīn : w. von Bireġik ; Türk. Karte.

Ġerġanāz : s. ö. von Ma'arrit in-Nu'mān ; Lassus, *Inventaire Archéologique de la région au nord-est de Hamā*, S. 2 f. (*Ġerġanaz*).

Hallūz : HL, S. 213, Nr. 122.

Ḥarbanūš : am S. O. Ende des Ġ. Bārišā ; AE, 114 ; Jac., II, 233.

Ḥulmen : an der Bahn von Aleppo nach Ġerābis.

Ibbīn : ö. vom Ġ. Bārišā ; AE, S. 115 ; PE, S. 59.

Idlib : n. vom Ġ. Rihā ; vgl. u.a. Dussaud, *a.a.O.*, Index, s.v.

Iḡdīn : HL, S. 202, Nr. 36.

Jural : s.ö. von Killiz ; KK, Bl. Haleb.

Karkemiš : alter Name der Ruinenstadt bei Ġerābis.

Kdīn : HL, S. 213, Nr. 121.

Kēfiz : n. von Killiz ; KO.

Kefr Ambil s. Ambil.

Kefr Tāb : zwischen Ma'arrit in-Nu'mān und Aleppo ; Jac., III, 289.

Kefrēdīn : HL, S. 212, Nr. 68 ; wohl aram. kefr + ēdīn.

Kefrmū : am Westabhang des Ġ. il-A'la ; AE, S. 117.

Keremen : ö. von Mar'aš ; KK, Bl. Malatja.

Kernāz : ZDPV, Bd. 23, S. 19, Nr. 201.

Kertil (?) : s. von Bireġik ; KK, Bl. Haleb.

Kfellūdīn u. Kfellūsīn : w. vom Ġ. Šēḥ Berekāt ; AE, S. 117 ; PE, S. 64 ; TAA, S. 186, zusammengesetzt aus aram. kefr > kfel (= kefr) + lūdīn u. lūsīn.

Kifīn : ö. vom Ġ. Bārišā ; AE, S. 118.

Killiz : n. von Aleppo ; in syr. u. arab. Literatur erwähnt ; Jac., IV, 299 f.

Kirdellis : HL, S. 218, Nr. 123.

Kirkīz : s. von Bireġik ; AE, S. 118.

Klaidīn : HH, S. 497, 4, Nr. 6.

Körtīl (?) : n. von Mar'aš ; KK, Bl. Malatja.

Kumināz : s. ö. von Idlib, s.w. von Sermin ; KK, Bl. Haleb.

Kursel : n.w. von Aleppo ; ebd.

Kursente : bei Ma'arrit in-Nu'mān ; PE, S. 59.

Kurzāhil : n.w. von Aleppo, am Nahr 'Afrīn ; Mēl. de la Fac. Orient., Beyrouth, Bd. II, S. 384 ; in syr. u. arab. Literatur erwähnt.

Manil : s. von Killiz ; KK, Bl. Haleb ; = Minil, KO.

Mar'anāz : HH, S. 518, Nr. 2.

- Mar'aš* (?) : an der Grenze zwischen Kleinasien und Nordsyrien ; oft in der syr. u. arab. Literatur erwähnt, ausführlich beschrieben *Jac.*, IV, 498. Über das 'vgl. oben "Spreu."
- Meilend* : n.w. von Ġiṣr iṣ-Ṣuġr ; *KO* ; identisch mit *Mlend* ; *HH*, S. 496, Nr. 44.
- Merichāil* (?) : *KK*, Bl. Malatja, C 3 ; auf Türk. Karte mit *t* statt *d* geschrieben ; könnte türk.-arab. "Marshügel" bedeuten und ist vielleicht so aus einer älteren Form umgedeutet.
- Merzimen* : Name eines Flusses, der bei Chalfati-Rum Kal'e von W. in den Euphrat fließt ; Türk. Karte ; *KK*, Bl. Malatja, C 4, hat *Merziman*.
- Millis* : w. von Idlib ; *PE*, S. 77.
- Minatil* : n.ö. von Killiz ; *KK*, Bl. Haleb.
- Minil* : s. Manil.
- Mlend* : s. Meilend.
- Nizib* : w. von Bireġik ; *KO*.
- Nubbul* : (1) n.w. von Aleppo, auf *KO*, etwas anders gelegen als nach *AE*, S. 122. (2) *HL*, S. 217, Nr. 112.
- Orul* : *HH*, S. 493, XI (bei 'Aintāb) ; auf *KO*, wohl etwas türkisiert, Oġrul.
- Rā'il* (?) : s.ö. von Killiz, *KK*, Bl. Haleb. Nach *HH*, S. 521, Nr. 28 *Rā'il*. *ZDPV*, Bd. 23, S. 18, Nr. 185, ein Ort *Kefr Rā'* n. von Hamā, bei Moritz, *Zur antiken Topogr. d. Palmyrene*, S. 5, *Kefar Rā'a*. Wenn dies *Rā'* mit *Rā'il* zusammenhängt, wird -*il* hier das türk. Wort sein ; s. oben "Das l-Suffix."
- Rā'il* : w.n.w. von Bireġik ; ö. von 'Aintāb ; *KK*, Bl. Haleb.
- Sambil* in *Dēr Sambil* : im Ġ. Rihā ; *AE*, S. 112. Vielleicht für *Sandil* ; *TAA*, S. 186.
- Sarebil* : zwischen Aleppo und Killiz, nahe am W.-Ufer des Kuwēk, *KO*.
- Saril* : n.n.ö. von 'Aintāb ; *KK*, Bl. Malatja, B 4 ; vielleicht türkisch.
- Şeġerāz* : s.w. von Killiz ; *KO* und *HH*, S. 518, Nr. 3.
- Sendriš* : *HH*, S. 496, Nr. 21.
- Serdin* : zwischen Ġ. il-A'la u. Ġ. Bārišā ; *AE*, S. 123.
- Serrēdin* : *HL*, S. 231, Nr. 27.
- Sinibbol* : *HH*, S. 518, Nr. 57.
- Siwāz* (?) : Ein Ort Michal Siwāz zwischen Mar'aš und Zeitun auf *KK*, Bl. Malatja ; vielleicht mit *Siwas* in Kleinasien zusammenzustellen.
- Sofrāz* (?) : ein Nebenfluss des Euphrat n.ö. von 'Aintāb wird auf Türk. Karte *şofrāz deresi* genannt. Der Name kommt auch als *Syrfāz* vor, und *KK*, Bl. Malatja, C 3, hat den Ort *Syrfaz*.
- Šuwēdin* (?) : w. von Bireġik ; Türk. Karte, vielleicht aus *Šwērīn* (*HH*, 521, Nr. 27) verschrieben.
- Sülemtil* (?) : in der Nähe von Sarebil.
- Syrfāz* : s. Sofrāz.
- Tafienāz* : n.ö. von Idlib zwischen den auf *KO* verzeichneten Orten T'üm und Ma'arrit il-Akwān.
- Tatmarāš* : n.w. von Aleppo, s.w. von Killiz ; *HH*, S. 518, Nr. 11 ; *KO*. Das Kompositionselement *taf* wohl in *Tatḥum* (*HH*, S. 519) und *Kefr Tāt*, *Şürtat*. *ZDPV*, 1923, S. 14, Nr. 133.
- Terdin* : *HL*, S. 212, Nr. 78.
- Terentil* (?) : n.w. von Adijaman ; *KK*, Bl. Malatja.
- Tibil* : *HH*, S. 521, Nr. 48 ; vgl. *Tubbal*, Honigmann, *Ostgrenze d. byz. Reiches*, S. 112 ; *Tabil*, *Jac.*, I, 825.
- Tinnib* : *HH*, S. 518, Nr. 12 ; *Jac.*, I, 876. In diesem Namen hat sich vielleicht altes *Tunip* erhalten ; aber das aus der ägypt. Geschichte bekannte *Tunip* lag weiter südlich, s. Dussaud, *Topogr. histor.*, S. 109.
- Tintāš* : in 'Ain T. ; *HL*, S. 213, Nr. 94.
- Toḳād* : im Ġ. il-Halaka ; *TAA*, S. 174, 195 ; *Z. Sem.* I, S. 28.

Tulmen : KK, Bl. Malatja, E 4.

Turunda : HH, S. 522, Nr. 3 ; *Jac.*, III, 534. = *Turund* : *Mél. de la Fac. Orientale*, Beyrouth, Bd. II, S. 382.

Ülbül : HH, S. 521, Nr. 37.

Zaidal : ZDPV, Bd. 22, S. 164, Nr. 35, u. Bd. 23, S. 6, Nr. 44 ; auch *Zēdal*.

Zergil (?) : n.w. von Bireğik ; Türk. Karte.

Aus dem Gesamtproblem ist das hier Gebotene nur ein kleiner Ausschnitt ; er will als das genommen werden, was er ist, d.h. als ein tastender Versuch. Etymologien habe ich nur in ganz wenigen Fällen gegeben, wo mir die in Betracht kommenden Sprachen bekannt waren. Es wäre sehr zu wünschen, dass Kenner der alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und des Mitanni diesen Fragen näher nachgingen. Aber schon jetzt kann behauptet werden, dass in den heutigen nordsyrischen Ortsnamen noch viel altes Sprachgut enthalten ist. Die spezifisch semitischen Laute kommen in ihnen nur wenig vor ; aber es ist auffällig, dass *ḥ* in mehreren Namen enthalten ist, z.B. *Ḥaleb*, *Ḥallūz*, *Ḥarbanūš*, *Dēhes*, *Kurzāḥil*, wie auch im Anlaut von *Ḥamā* und *Ḥoms*.

Möge dieser Beitrag zur Festschrift für den verdienten Erforscher Kleinasiens ein Zeichen der Anerkennung sein für seine selbstlose Förderung der Wissenschaft und zugleich ein dankbares Zeichen der Erinnerung an gemeinsame Arbeit in Kleinasien, England, Amerika, und Deutschland !

ROME AND THE CITY-STATES OF WESTERN ASIA MINOR FROM 200 TO 133 B.C.

by DAVID MAGIE

ACCORDING to ancient Roman historians, the city of Asia Minor with which Rome first established friendly relations was the home of the Trojan Aeneas. As the myth relating the hero's journey to Italy and the foundation of Rome by one of his descendants was current in the late third century before Christ, it is in itself not improbable that a connexion was formed with Ilium at that time. There is no reliable evidence, however, for the existence of any connexion before 205 B.C., for it is difficult to believe in the genuineness of the "ancient letter" brought before the Senate in A.D. 53 to show that a "King Seleucus" (who could have been only Seleucus II) received from the Romans a promise of friendship and alliance on the condition that he would declare the Ilions, "their kinsmen," exempt from all obligations to himself.¹

In 205 the Romans concluded the treaty of Phoenice with Philip V of Macedonia, and Livy's account of the transaction names Ilium, as well as Attalus I of Pergamum and several states of Greece, as signatories of the treaty on the Roman side, i.e. as allies of Rome.²

¹ Suetonius, *Claud.*, 25, 3; for the date and circumstances see Tacitus, *Ann.*, XII, 58, 1, where we are told that the young Nero by an eloquent speech, in which he related the story of Aeneas *aliaque haud procul fabulis vetera*, brought it to pass *ut Ilienses omni publico munere solverentur*. The genuineness of the "letter" has been generally accepted, most recently by De Sanctis, *Stor. d. Romani*, III, 1, p. 277, and III, 2, p. 416, by Stähelin in *RE*, II, A, 1240, and by Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*,² IV, 1, p. 663. Its authenticity was rejected, on the other hand, by Niese, *Griech. u. Maked. Staaten*, II, p. 153, n. 4, and p. 281, by Willrich in *Klio*, III (1903), p. 404, by Täubler in *Imperium Romanum*, I, p. 203, and especially by Holleaux in *Rome, la Grèce et les Monarchies Hellénist.* (Paris, 1921), p. 46 f., and in *CAH*, VII, p. 823. Both Niese and Holleaux assumed that the "letter" was an invention on the part of the Romans; it seems much more probable that it was a fabrication of the Ilions, who presumably bolstered up their request for *immunitas* by what they hoped would be regarded as documentary evidence.

² Livy, XXIX, 12, 14, where the *foederi adscripti ab Romanis* are enumerated as the Ilions, Attalus I, Pleuratus the Illyrian, Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, the Eleans, the Messenians, and the

The correctness of this list has been challenged on the grounds, first, that the passage in question was taken, at least in part, from a Roman annalist, and, second, that Livy himself in another passage says expressly that as yet Rome had no allies among the cities of Asia. While it is probably true that the Greek states named by Livy did not participate in the signing of the treaty, there is every reason to suppose that Attalus, who really was an ally of Rome's, did sign it, and Ilium had previously (in 218 B.C.) entered into friendly relations with him. It is evident, moreover, that the second passage of Livy is also based on some annalist and, accordingly, rests on no better authority than that containing the list of the signatories. A connexion between Rome and Ilium was certainly established before 197-196, when the envoys of Lampsacus in the Troad, as will presently be shown, based a plea for Roman protection on the ground of their "kinship" to the Romans. Moreover, in 190 the consul Lucius Scipio offered sacrifice in the temple of Athena Ilias amid the acclamations of the citizens, who boasted that ancient Troy was the mother of Rome.¹ Although perhaps it is not easy to see why Ilium, which in 190 had so decreased in size and importance that it was a mere "village-city,"² should in 205 have been recognized by Rome as an ally, the arguments against this recognition are not convincing.

It was not until after her victory over Philip V at Cynoscephalae, however, that Rome began definitely to concern herself with the cities of Asia—a step taken, perhaps, under the influence of the

Athenians. For the statement: *Nullas dum in Asia socias civitates habebat populus Romanus* see Livy, XXIX, 11, 1. For the arguments against the inclusion of Ilium in the treaty, see Niese, II, p. 502, n. 4; Täubler, p. 214 f.; Holleaux, *Rome, la Grèce*, etc., p. 258 f. Holleaux showed with great probability that Nabis, the Eleans and the Messenians, as allies of the Aetolians, had, together with them, made peace with Philip in 206 and that the Athenians had not as yet entered into relations with Rome. Attalus, however, as Holleaux himself admitted (p. 264, n. 1), was an ally of Rome and not of the Aetolians, and therefore was a signatory to the treaty of Phoenice. For the relations of Attalus I and Ilium in 218, see Polybius, V, 78, 6. One of the Ilian city-tribes was named *Ἀτταλῆς*, presumably after this monarch; see CIG, 3616 = LW, 1040 = IGR, IV, 216.

¹ Livy, XXXVII, 37, 2 f. (probably taken from Polybius). Ilium, it is true, had previously been forced to surrender to Antiochus III. He had offered sacrifice to Athena in 192 (Livy, XXXV, 43, 3), and his supremacy in the city is also attested by an inscription containing mention of an oath taken in his name and by a fragmentary letter, apparently written by him, promising to preserve the citizens' "ancestral privileges"; see Dörpfeld, *Troja u. Ilion*, p. 448, No. III and No. IV = Welles, *Royal correspondence in the Hellenistic period* (New Haven, 1934), No. 42.

² It is said by Strabo (XIII, 1, 27, p. 594) to have been a *κωμόπολις* at this time.

Rhodians, whose representations, combined with those of Attalus, had induced the Senate to enter the war against the Macedonian king. In the treaty concluded with Philip in the early summer of 196, a special clause provided that the Carian towns Bargylia, Iasus, Euromus, and Pedasa, which the king had seized in the autumn of 201, and Abydus, which he had captured in the late summer of the following year, should be evacuated by his troops and henceforth be independent; ¹ this provision amounted to a guarantee by the two contracting parties. A further assurance of the liberty of the Greek cities of Asia was given after the signing of the treaty, when Titus Flamininus caused the herald to proclaim at Corinth that they, like the cities of Greece itself, were to be "free, ungarrisoned, exempt from tribute and self-governing." ²

The treaty with Philip naturally provided only for those communities of Caria seized by him which had a Greek tradition. These lay on the Aegean and in or around the broad valley—the modern Plain of Mendelia—which is separated from the coast by the mountain-range of Grion. No provision was made for the non-Hellenic cities lying further to the east, namely, Alabanda and Stratoniceia. The former, under the new name of "Antiocheia of the Nation of the Chrysaoreis" had, a few years previously, received from Antiochus III a promise that he would "preserve the democracy and peace" of its citizens,³ but later, the city, if not

¹ Polybius, XVIII, 44, 2 f. = Livy, XXXIII, 30, 2 f. For the treaty see Holleaux in *CAH*, VIII, p. 180 f., and Passerini in *Athenaeum*, X (1932), p. 110 f., and for the guarantee involved see Täubler, p. 433 f. The city called *Πιδασα*—which must be distinguished from other places of the same or a similar name (see Ruge in *RE*, XIX, 26 f.)—is evidently the *Πιδασα* with which, in 176-175, Miletus made a treaty of *sympoliteia*; see *Milet*, I, 3, p. 350 f., No. 149, and, for the date, Rehm in *S.B. Bayer.Akad., phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1923, VIII, p. 11 f. This treaty mentions (l. 39 f.) some of the Pidaseis as landowners in the territory of Euromus (on the eastern edge of the Plain of Mendelia) and also provides for the construction of a road leading from Pidasa to Ioniapolis on the Gulf of Latmus. The place was situated, accordingly, not far from Euromus and probably in the hill-country north or north-west of the Plain of Mendelia.

² Polybius, XVIII, 46, 15 = Livy, XXXIII, 33, 7. The Greeks of Asia are not mentioned in the parallel accounts of Diodorus (XXVIII, 12), Appian (*Maced.*, 9, 4) and Plutarch (*Flam.*, 10). Täubler observed (p. 438) that by this proclamation the Romans recognized the full sovereignty of the free cities of Asia Minor (although not of the cities of Greece), but gave no guarantee that they would never take possession of them.

³ *OGI*, 234 = *SGDI*, 2529, an Amphictyonic decree in which the Council recognized Alabanda (*οἱ Ἀντιοχεῖς οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Χρυσαιορέων ἔθνους*) as *συγγενὴς ἐοῦσα τῶν Ἑλλάνων* and declared both the city and its territory sacred to Zeus Chrysaoreus and Apollo Isoteimos. The decree is dated under the Delphian archon Philaetolus, whose year of office

actually captured by Philip, was at least compelled to furnish supplies to his army.¹ Stratoniceia had been seized by the king's troops and its territory was still held by them in 197.²

Little, indeed, was done by the Romans to carry out the clause of the treaty providing for the cities of Asia. In 196, one of the commissioners, Publius Lentulus, sailed to Bargylia in order to arrange for its freedom,³ but nothing seems to have been done in the case of either Abydus or Iasus. Even before Lentulus' voyage to Bargylia, Abydus had been seized by Antiochus III,⁴ and Iasus, either at this time or soon afterward, accepted his promise to "preserve its democracy and autonomy."⁵ The Rhodians, acting with more energy, on hearing of the victory at Cynoscephalæ, declared the communities still subject to Egypt, namely, the Carian cities Caunus, Halicarnassus, and Myndus, and the Island of Samos, independent city-states.⁶

Even before the treaty with Philip had been signed, the hope was aroused in Asia that Rome would act as the protector of the Hellenic cities. In the early spring of 196 the Senate received an appeal presented by envoys from Lampsacus, the first of the Asianic city-states to send ambassadors to Rome.⁷ On leaving home,

was placed about 202-201 by Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens à Delphes* (Paris, 1937), pp. 322, 412 f., and 493, but Antiochus' action may well have taken place a year or two earlier.

¹ Polybius, XVI, 24, 8.

² Livy, XXXIII, 18, 6 f. Two inscriptions have been found at the neighbouring Panamara, honouring, respectively, Philip himself and an ἐπιστάτης appointed by him; see *BCH*, XXVIII (1904), p. 345 f., No. 1 and Nos. 2 and 3, combined by H. Oppermann, *Zeus Panamaros* (Giessen, 1924), p. 20 f. The latter inscription is dated in 199-198.

³ Polybius, XVIII, 48, 2, and 50, 1 = Livy, XXXIII, 35, 2 and 39, 2; Plutarch, *Flam.*, 12, 1. Lentulus may also have had to arrange for the embarkation of Philip's troops, which, after their defeat in 197 by the Rhodians, had retreated to Bargylia; see Livy, XXXIII, 18, 19.

⁴ Livy, XXXIII, 38, 4.

⁵ *GIBM*, 442 = *OGI*, 237. The exact date of this promise is not known, but it is evidently to be placed after Antiochus' arrival in Asia Minor in the autumn of 197 (see n. 7). During his previous campaign (in 204-203) Iasus evidently had no relations with him, for when its territory was attacked by Olympichus (presumably the Carian tyrant of this name), acting as an agent of Philip, the citizens appealed to Rhodes; see *CIG*, 2679 = *GIBM*, 441 = *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, XII (1899), p. 21 f. = *Rev. Ét. Anc.*, V (1903), p. 224 f.

⁶ Livy, XXXIII, 20, 10 f. The Rhodians, however, afterward took possession of Caunus, which, they later asserted, had been sold to them by the "generals of Ptolemy"; see Polybius, XXX, 31 (XXXI, 7), 6.

⁷ *Syll.*³, 591 = *IGR*, IV, 179; on this inscription see Bickermann in *Philol.*, LXXXVII (1932), p. 277 f. Since the envoys presented their request to the Senate before the signing of the treaty in the early summer of 196 and had previously travelled from Lampsacus to Marseilles and back to Rome, they can scarcely have left Lampsacus later than the end of

probably in the autumn of 197, these envoys had had an interview with Lucius Flamininus, the commander of the Roman fleet operating in the Aegean. He, somewhat exceeding his powers, promised them that "if he should swear friendship with any communities, he would include Lampsacus and would maintain its democracy, autonomy, and peace" and would not allow anyone to molest it. But, apparently feeling the need of stronger support, the envoys travelled on to Massalia, a colony of Phocaea, the reputed mother-city of Lampsacus, and officially a "friend and ally" of Rome. Escorted by representatives appointed by Massalia, they finally appeared before the Senate, presenting a petition to be included in the treaty with Philip as a signatory power—which would mean recognition as an independent state in alliance with Rome. The Fathers gave them to understand that this plea would be granted, but, apparently, like their other requests, the petition was referred to Titus Flamininus and his fellow-commissioners at Corinth. On meeting the commissioners, the envoys again presented their petition for the recognition of the city's independence. They seem to have been received with all courtesy, but the commissioners' reply to their request had been lost. In any case, if Polybius' version of the treaty is accurate, their desire to sign it was not fulfilled.

It is evident that this request of the Lampsacenes was due to the aggressive policy of Antiochus III. This ambitious and energetic monarch had already, in 204-203, begun a campaign of goodwill, during which he tried to secure the allegiance of several cities of Asia by granting them privileges.¹ He now made a more vigorous

197 and so not long after Antiochus' arrival at Ephesus. For the significance of the inclusion in the treaty as a signatory, see Bickermann, *ibid.*, p. 278 f., and in *Rev. Phil.*, LXI (1935), p. 61 f. Bickermann also showed that Lampsacus did not sign the treaty; nevertheless, it is evident that something was accomplished by the mission, for otherwise this decree in honour of its leader would not have been enacted.

¹ For the campaigns of Antiochus in 204-203 and 197-196, see E. Degen, *Kritische Ausführungen z. Gesch. Antiochus d. Grossen* (Basle, 1918), p. 30 f. In his account of the earlier of these campaigns Degen cited the king's attempts to win over Magnesia-on-Maeander (see *Inscr. v. Magnesia*, 18 = OGI, 231 = Welles, No. 31), Alabanda (see p. 163, n. 3), and Teos (see p. 168, n. 3). To these instances may be added Antiochus' establishment, in 204, of an ἀρχιέρεα for his wife Laodice in Caria (OGI, 224 = BCH, LIV [1930], p. 250 f. = Welles, Nos. 36-37), his promise, in 203, to Amyzon to grant all the privileges that the citizens had enjoyed under their alliance with Ptolemy, and his guarantee of the ἀσυλία of their sanctuary (GIBM, IV, 2, 1035 = Welles, No. 38 : OGI, 217 = Welles, No. 39 ; CIG, 2899 = Welles, No. 40), and, perhaps, his apparent grant to Tralles of exemption from taxes or tithes and his promise to Nysa, where he seems to have confirmed the inviolability of the Plutonium (Welles, Nos. 41 and 43).

attempt to strengthen his power in the western part of his empire. Early in 197, sending his army overland from Syria, he himself with his navy sailed along the coast of Cilicia, forcing the towns and strongholds, nominally under the rule of Egypt, to receive him.¹ The Rhodians at first forbade him to advance beyond the Chelidonian Islands, but, on hearing of the victory at Cynoscephalae, they allowed him to proceed on his way.² By the device of liberating Samos and the Carian cities they prevented Antiochus from seizing these places, for the king, unwilling to antagonize the owners of so powerful a navy, made no attempt against the liberated communities.³

Taking possession of Ephesus—whether by force or persuasion is not known—Antiochus established himself there for the winter of 197-196 and in the spring embarked on his programme of bringing back the city-states of Asia Minor *in antiquam imperii formulam*.⁴ He was ready to win them by the promise of freedom, but he was also prepared to use force. His seizure of Abydus ensured the control of the Hellespont and made it possible to take possession of the shore of Thrace, which he claimed as territory conquered by Seleucus I. The possession of this strategic point also enabled Antiochus to take measures against Lampsacus. He offered to recognize the city's independence, with the understanding, of course, that it would enter into an alliance with him—an arrangement by which, though nominally an ally, he would gain control of the city and dominate its policy. At the same time, he threatened, in case

¹ Polybius, XVIII, 39, 3 ; Livy, XXXIII, 19, 9 f.

² *Ibid.*, 20, 2 f.

³ The details of Antiochus' further voyage, omitted by Livy, can be supplied, at least in part, from Hieronymus, *Comm. in Daniel.*, XI, 15 = Porphyrius frg. 46 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.*, II, p. 1224), originally dependent on Polybius. After being allowed to proceed, he occupied the Lycian Corycus ; then, rounding the Chelidonian Islands, he took possession of Limyra, Andriace (the port of Myra), Patara, and Xanthus. In the case of Xanthus, he seems to have gained the city's submission by dedicating it to Leto, Apollo, and Artemis ; see *TAM*, II, 266 = *OGI*, 746. He appears also to have made overtures to Cos, if an unpublished fragment of a letter of his to the Coans mentioning his physician and confidant Apolophanes may be regarded as evidence that he sent an envoy to the city at this time ; see Herzog in *Arch. Jahrb.*, XX (1905), *Arch. Anz.*, p. 11, and *Hist. Ztschr.*, CXXV (1922), p. 231, n. 2. The Coans evidently did not accept any offer from Antiochus, for they erected a statue of Titus Flamininus in recognition of his services to the *demos* of Cos, its allies and the Greeks ; see Paton-Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos*, No. 128 = *SGDI*, 3656. For Antiochus' grant to Iasus, probably about this time, see p. 164, n. 5.

⁴ Polybius, XVIII, 41a, 2 ; Livy, XXXIII, 38, 1 f. ; Appian, *Syr.*, I. For his method of conciliation see also Plutarch, *Reg. et Imp. Apophth.*, p. 183 F.

his offer was refused, to attack Lampsacus with the garrison he had placed at Abydus. He used the same tactics against Smyrna also, sending some of the soldiers he had with him at Ephesus to begin war on the city and thus enforce its submission.

The Lampsacenes' determined resistance to Antiochus' overtures was undoubtedly strengthened by their hope of receiving help from Rome. A similar hope seems to have encouraged the citizens of Smyrna. In any case, in 195 they took a step designed to win Rome's favour by erecting a temple to the deified *Urbs Roma*, signifying that the goddess had become the guardian of their city and that they had placed themselves under Rome's protection.¹ Alexandria Troas likewise resisted all Antiochus' advances and, perhaps at this time, turned to Rome for support.²

The Romans, meanwhile, had taken up the cause of the cities. In the summer of 196 Antiochus' envoys at Corinth were informed by the Roman commissioners that the king must keep his hands off the autonomous cities of Asia and refrain from making war on any, and that he must evacuate those which he had taken from Ptolemy and Philip.³ In the following autumn the representatives of Lampsacus and Smyrna took part in the conference between the Roman commissioners and Antiochus at Lysimacheia in Thrace and angered the king by the freedom with which they presented their case against him.⁴

In the negotiations that were carried on between the Senate and Antiochus during the next three years the Romans maintained

¹ Tacitus, *Ann.*, IV, 56, 1, quoting the claim of Smyrna's envoys to the Senate in A.D. 26 that their city had built a temple of *Urbs Roma* in 195 B.C. For the significance of the establishment of this cult, see O. Hirschfeld in *S.B. Berl. Akad.*, 1888, p. 835 = *Kl. Schr.* p. 474.

² Alexandria Troas does not appear until 192 among the cities that defied Antiochus; see Livy, XXXV, 42, 2, where it is included among those which he *neque vi expugnare ad eam diem poterat neque condicionibus in amicitiam perlicere*. Consequently, Cardinali (*Regno di Pergamo*, p. 69, n. 2) and Bickermann (*Hermes*, LXVII, p. 65) supposed that it did not join the other cities in their resistance until this year. The wording of the passage of Livy, however, suggests that Antiochus' efforts against all three of the cities had been maintained for some time, and it is difficult to see how Alexandria, if it had once submitted to the king, could have defied him later, especially since he had troops in Abydus. In the negotiations carried on between the Scipios and Antiochus in 190 (see p. 170, n. 8) Alexandria is named, together with Lampsacus and Smyrna, as one of the cities which had been the cause of the war.

³ Polybius, XVIII, 47, 1 = Livy, XXXIII, 34, 3.

⁴ Polybius, XVIII, 52; Appian, *Syr.*, 2. The statement of Appian that the majority of the Greek cities had by this time joined Antiochus and received his garrisons is evidently untrue.

the principle which they adopted at Lysimacheia, namely, that if the king asserted a claim to any part of Europe, as he had done by his occupation of Thrace, they had an equal right to protect the freedom of the cities of Asia, preserving Rome's existing alliances with those cities, and, if desirable, forming alliances with others. Antiochus, on his side, declared with like firmness that Rome had no place in the affairs of Asia, and that the cities must derive their freedom from himself alone.¹ At the beginning of 193 the Senate even went so far as to announce to the representatives of the cities both of Asia and of Greece, who were then in Rome, that "unless Antiochus withdrew from Europe, the Romans would defend the liberty of the Greeks with the same courage and fidelity with which they had defended it against Philip."²

At this juncture the Senate received a petition from Teos. This city was at least nominally free, and about 204 it had requested various powers of Greece, including the Aetolian League and the Amphictyonic Council, as well as several of the cities of Crete, to recognize both the city of Teos and its territory as sacred to Dionysus and therefore inviolable.³ The Teian envoys sent to Crete at this

¹ The respective positions taken by Antiochus and the commissioners at Lysimacheia were maintained in the winter of 194-193 by the king's envoys in Rome and by Flamininus (although in a somewhat milder form) in his reply to them; see Livy, XXXIV, 57, 6 f.; Diodorus, XXVIII, 15; Appian, *Syr.*, 6. The Roman embassy sent to Antiochus a little later replied to the argument of the king's representative Minnio that Antiochus had the same rights over Lampsacus, Smyrna, and the cities of Aeolis and Ionia that the Romans had over the cities of southern Italy and Sicily by pointing out that these cities had not been in continuous subjection to the Seleucids and hence there was no analogy between them and the cities of Italy and Sicily; see Livy, XXXV, 16. For the embassies sent by Antiochus and the Senate, respectively, in this year, see Holleaux in *Rev. Ét. Anc.*, XV (1913), p. 22 f., and *CAH*, VIII, p. 200 f., and Degen, *ibid.*, p. 59 f. Bickermann (*Hermes*, LXVII, pp. 50 f. and 58 f.) held that in accordance with the Greek theory of possession, the cities, as formerly a part of Lysimachus' empire, belonged to Antiochus by right of conquest, and that their autonomy was revocable at the monarch's pleasure. This view, however, failed to take into consideration the fact that their independence, granted by Alexander and recognized by Antigonos, had, in general, been confirmed both by Antiochus I after his father's conquest of Lysimachus' empire and by Antiochus II. On the other hand, Bickermann pointed out very pertinently (pp. 53 f. and 60 f.) that, from the standpoint of Antiochus, Rome's recognition of the cities' independence constituted a promise to recognize their sovereignty, and that the king could not accept the existence of these buffer-states protected by Rome without danger to his dominions in Asia.

² Livy, XXXIV, 59, 4 f.

³ For the guarantees of the *ἀσυλία* of Teos given by the Amphictyonic Council and by the Aetolian League, see *Syll.*³, 564, and *IG*, IX², 1, 192 = *Syll.*³, 563, and for the guarantee given by Delphi, see *LW*, 84 = *GGA*, 1898, p. 218 f., and *Syll.*³, 565. The Aetolian decree is dated under the *στρατηγός* Alexander of Calydon, whose year of office was placed in

time had been accompanied in three cities by a representative of Antiochus, who acted as their spokesman; similarly in 193 the request made to Rome was presented by Menippus, who was one of Antiochus' envoys to the Senate and had been "appointed also by the citizens to act as envoy with regard to the city."¹ The petition was granted by the Fathers, who declared in reply that Teos was "exempt from payments of money as far as the Roman people was concerned," signifying thereby that Rome recognized its independence. The declaration, containing also a laudatory mention of Menippus, was calculated to show all politeness toward the king in granting the request preferred by his envoy; it also gave the Senate an opportunity of reaffirming its policy with regard to the cities of Asia.

It is, nevertheless, highly probable that the Romans, in their fear that Antiochus would establish himself in Europe, were much more concerned about his withdrawal from Thrace than about the freedom of the Asianic Greeks, and that had the king consented to abandon his claim to the European side of the Hellespont the Senate would have readily sacrificed the cause of the cities.² When the

204-203 by Klaffenbach (*IG*, IX², 1, 95, n. 1, and p. L); the same envoys were received by the Amphictyons and the Delphians under the archon Megartas, whose year was dated about 205-204 by Flacelière (*Aitoliens à Delphes*, pp. 322, 412, and 491 f.). The envoys sent to the Cretan communities Eleuthernae (*CIG*, 3047 = *LW*, 71 = *SGDI*, 5177), Rhacrus (*CIG*, 3051 = *LW*, 63 = *SGDI*, 5167), and Lappa (*CIG*, 3056 = *LW*, 68, corrected in *Klio*, XIII [1913], p. 146, n. 5) were accompanied by Hagesandrus of Rhodes, who is described as *ὁ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῶς Αντιόχῳ πρεσβευτής*. At Eleuthernae, as well as in seven other cities, the envoys were accompanied by Perdicas, a citizen of Teos, who acted as the representative of Philip V. Because of this preponderance of instances of his appearance over that of Hagesandrus, Holleaux concluded (*Klio*, XIII, p. 138 f.) that Philip's influence was dominant in Teos at the time and that, therefore, the embassies to Crete should be dated in 201, after his invasion of Asia Minor. There is no evidence, however, that Philip occupied Teos either during his raid on Pergamum or in his subsequent invasion of Caria, and, as Ruge pointed out (*RE*, V, A, 549), the presence of a representative of Antiochus would be hard to explain, were Philip master of Teos at the time, whereas that of Philip's representative, in view of the king's great influence in Crete, is readily understandable.

¹ *CIG*, 3045 = *LW*, 60 = *Syll.*³, 601 = *IGR*, IV, 1557, a letter of M. Valerius Messalla, praetor in 193, which conveyed the Senate's reply to the request of the Teians. The declaration that Teos was *ἀφορολόγητος ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων*, inasmuch as there was no question of any payment of *φόρος* to Rome, can mean only the recognition of the city's independence. For the presence of Menippus in Rome early in 193, see Livy, XXXIV, 57, 6 f.; Diodorus, XXVIII, 15, 2 f.; Appian, *Syr.*, 6.

² This was pointed out by Cardinali (p. 69, n. 1), Degen (*ibid.*, p. 64 f.), and Passerini in *Athenaeum*, X (1932), p. 333. Rome's use of the principle of the freedom of the Greeks of Asia as a pretext against Antiochus was also observed by Holleaux in *Rome, la Grèce, etc.*, p. 326 f. and by Bickermann (*ibid.*, p. 66 f.).

war broke out, however, the Greek city-states of Asia accepted Rome as their champion. Not only Smyrna, but also Erythrae, Mytilene and Cos contributed ships to the navy of Rome and her allies, and Miletus, Halicarnassus, Myndus, and Cnidus carried out orders given by the Roman naval commander, presumably for furnishing ships or supplies.¹ Chios and Samos served, respectively, as headquarters for the commissary and for the navy.² Adramyttium and Notium resisted attacks by the king and were saved by the arrival of a Roman-Pergamene fleet.³ Clazomenae, to which after the war the Roman commissioners granted additional territory, and Mylasa, which they declared independent,⁴ seem also to have supported Rome.

Antiochus, on the other hand, in addition to Ephesus, which remained his headquarters during the war, and the neighbouring Magnesia-on-Maeander, which was occupied by his troops,⁵ held only Iasus, where he had stationed a garrison, and Teos, which he had previously brought under his control.⁶ During the war, Phocaea, which at first declared for Rome, was betrayed to the king by his partisans in the city, and Cyme and other towns of Aeolis were compelled by his son Seleucus to surrender.⁷

When, finally, at the end of 190, the Scipios with their army entered Asia Minor, the freedom of the cities, whatever its importance at the beginning of the war, had ceased to be the main issue. Antiochus' offer to give up all claim to Lampsacus, Smyrna, and Alexandria Troas, as well as to any other cities in Aeolis and Ionia which had sided with the Romans and which they might wish him to cede, was, accordingly, rejected.⁸ Rome now demanded the

¹ Livy, XXXVII, 10, 11; 11, 13 f.; 12, 5; 16, 1 f.; 22, 2.

² Livy, XXXVI, 43, 11; XXXVII, 10, 11; 12, 6 f.; 14, 4; 27, 1 f. The statements of Appian (*Syr.*, 25) and Hieronymus (*Comm. in Daniel.*, XI, 18 = Porphyrius frg. 47 Jac.) that Samos surrendered to Antiochus are clearly incorrect.

³ Livy, XXXVII, 19, 8; 21, 4; 26, 5 f.; 31, 3.

⁴ See p. 171, n. 3.

⁵ Livy, XXXVII, 10, 12 f. (where the addition of *ad Sipylum* in 11, 3 is evidently a gloss); 45, 1. He also took possession of Magnesia ad Sipylum and Thyateira; see Livy, XXXVI, 43, 9; XXXVII, 44, 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 17, 3 f., and 27, 3 f. For Antiochus' control of Teos in 204-203 and in 193, see p. 168, n. 3, and p. 169, n. 1.

⁷ Livy, XXXVI, 43, 8 f.; Polybius, XXI, 6, 1 (= Livy, XXXVII, 9, 1 f.); 6, 2 f.; Livy, XXXVII, 11, 15; 12, 5; Appian, *Syr.*, 22 and 25. Phocaea was afterward captured by the Roman fleet (Livy, XXXVII, 32).

⁸ Polybius, XXI, 13, 3 f.; 14, 2 = Livy, XXXVII, 35, 2; Diodorus, XXIX, 7; Appian, *Syr.*, 29.

complete evacuation of the whole of Asia Minor west of the line of the Halys river and north of the range of Taurus.

After the battle of Magnesia, not only those communities which, like Ephesus and Magnesia-on-Macander, had been held by Antiochus, but also the city-states in general, surrendered to the Romans.¹ The Scipios, in replying to a delegation sent from Heracleia at the foot of Mt. Latmus, after expressing their goodwill to "all the Greeks," promised full independence to the city, "as also to all other cities which placed themselves under the protection" of Rome, i.e. surrendered in full. It may be inferred that the offer was not made to Heracleia alone but to all others as well which fulfilled the necessary condition attached. Another letter from the two generals, written in reply to an embassy from Colophon, seems to have guaranteed the inviolability of the neighbouring sanctuary of Apollo Clarius.

During the year's interval that elapsed between this general surrender and the signing of the treaty with Antiochus, embassies from nearly all the city-states of Asia, as well as from Eumenes II of Pergamum and from the Rhodians, went to Rome to present their various pleas,² and at the conference held at Apameia after the treaty was signed, the Roman commissioners carried out faithfully the obligations they had assumed.³ All the cities which had

¹ Livy, XXXVII, 45, 1 f. For the Scipios' letter to Heracleia ad Latmum, see *CIG*, 3800 = *LW*, 588 = *Syll.*³, 618 = *SEG*, II, 566. The letter was formerly attributed to Cn. Manlius Vulso, but it was shown by De Sanctis in *Atti Accad. Torino, Cl. Sc. Mor., etc.*, LVII (1921-22), p. 117 f., and Holleaux in *Riv. Fil.*, LII (1924), p. 29 f., that it was written by the Scipios. The clause (l. 11 f.) *δοῦναι ἡμῖν τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἔδωκαν* is the equivalent of Livy's *in fidem consulis dicionemque populi R. sese tradebant*; the expression appears frequently in this sense in Polybius, e.g. II, 11, 8; XV, 8, 14; XX, 9, 12; XXXVI, 3, 2 f. For the Scipios' letter to Colophon see *SEG*, I, 440 = IV, 567, and Holleaux, *ibid.*, p. 32 f.; the inscription was found in the ruins of the temple of Apollo Clarius. A letter of the Scipios to Heracleia Pontica is quoted in Memnon, 26, 2 (*FHG*, III, p. 539).

² Polybius, XXI, 17, 12; 18, 1 f.; 22, 2 f.; 24, 4 = Livy, XXXVII, 45, 21; 52, 1; 54, 2; 55, 4.

³ For the action of the Roman commissioners at Apameia see Polybius, XXI, 46 (48), 2 f. = Livy, XXXVIII, 39, 7 f.; Diodorus, XXIX, 11; Appian, *Syr.*, 44. The version of Livy contains (§ 10) the following clauses which do not appear in Polybius: *et Iliensibus Rhoeteum et Gergithum addiderunt, non tam ob recentia ulla merita quam originum memoria; eadem et Dardanum liberandi causa fuit*. This statement is probably an insertion from some Roman annalist who wished to emphasize the relationship of Rome to Ilium; see Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.*, II, p. 538, and Niese, II, p. 760, n. 2. It is, nevertheless, presumably true, for, in spite of Ilium's defection to Antiochus (see p. 162, n. 1), the Scipios had sacrificed there immediately after landing in Asia, and the commissioners could scarcely have failed to confer

previously been free and had sided with Rome during the war were recognized as independent, and Smyrna, Miletus, Erythrae, Clazomenae, and Chios obtained additional territory. Even Phocaea and Cyme were pardoned for their enforced defection and received their freedom.

Although Antiochus' entire possessions in western and central Asia Minor, with the exception of the grants of territory to the cities, were divided between Pergamum and Rhodes, Rome's influence became dominant in the Peninsula. Her power was shown when, after the cities of the Lycian Confederation had revolted against Rhodes in 180, the Senate revoked its previous "gift" of Lycia to the Rhodians,¹ and especially in 167, when Caunus and inland Caria, as well as the Lycians, were taken from Rhodes and declared independent.²

some benefit on it; Dardanus, moreover (as well as Rhoeteium), had surrendered in 190 to the Roman commander Livius Salinator and had also received the Scipios (Livy, XXXVII, 9, 7, and 37, 1). Polybius' account of the awards made at the conference, as well as a parallel passage containing the instructions given at Rome to the commissioners (XXI, 24, 7 f. = Livy, XXXVII, 55, 5 f.), lacks precision and is also incomplete. The statement that the *autonomous* ('Ελληνίδες in XXI, 24, 8) cities which had previously paid φόρος to Antiochus but had sided with Rome should henceforth be exempt, while those which had paid a σύνταξις to Attalus I should continue to pay φόρος to Eumenes, fails to take into account not only the distinction between φόρος and σύνταξις (on which see Schwahn in *RE*, IV, A, 1455), but also the fact that ἀφορολογησία was an essential concomitant of αὐτονομία. Moreover, there is no general statement regarding those cities which had always been free and had paid no φόρος to either monarch. This missing detail appears in Livy, XXXVII, 56, 2, where we are told that the commissioners were ordered to give Eumenes Mysia, Lydia, and Ionia *extra ea oppida quae libera fuissent quo die cum rege Antiocho pugnatum est*, a statement taken from some Roman source, but evidently a reliable one, ultimately dependent, perhaps, on the original document containing the instructions or the records of the Senate, as is the case with other details contained in this passage but lacking in Polybius; see Mommsen, *ibid.*, II, p. 523 f.

¹ Polybius, XXIV, 15 (9), 13; XXV, 4 f.; Livy, XLI, 6, 11 f. The Senate declared that the Lycians had been awarded to Rhodes οὐκ ἐν δωρεᾷ, τὸ δὲ πλεον ὥς φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, thus apparently reversing the decision of the commissioners in 188, who, according to Polybius, XXII, 5, 4 f., had assigned them ἐν δωρεᾷ. The arrival of the Lycian embassy in Rome is placed by Polybius in 177, by Livy, probably from an annalistic source, in 178, evidently a year too early. In 174 the Rhodians were still engaged in suppressing a revolt in Lycia, which, they later declared, had been fomented by Eumenes; see Livy, XLI, 25, 8, and XLII, 14, 8.

² Polybius, XXX, 5, 12; Livy, XLIV, 15, 1 (where the "liberation" of Lycia and Caria, taken from an annalistic source, is placed in 169, two years too early); Appian, *Syr.*, 44, and *Mith.*, 62. The Senate's action followed a revolt of Caunus and an attack on the territory of Euromus by Mylasa aided by Alabanda (Polybius, XXX, 5, 11, and 13 f. = Livy, XLV, 25, 11 f.), and the Rhodians were ordered to remove their garrisons both from Caunus and from Stratoniceia (Polybius, XXX, 21 (22), 2 f.; Livy, XLV, 25, 6; Appian, *Mith.*, 23).

Toward the Greek cities of the Aegean coast, Rome assumed the rôle of ally and protector, a position not very different from that held by the early Seleucids, and the cities accepted from her what some of them had refused to accept from Antiochus. Those whose freedom was "preserved" by Rome were, in theory, independent states. Although in substance they were dependent upon her favour, their legal status differed in no way from that of Pergamum or Rhodes.¹

At Apameia the commissioners had interfered in the cities' affairs only to the extent of assigning the adjudication of their disputes to other, neutral, cities, agreed upon by the disputants themselves.² This policy of refraining from interference was continued for nearly two decades. Miletus, for example, carried out a union with Pidasa and concluded a treaty with Heracleia³ apparently without reference to any possible interest on the part of the Romans; while in the latter document the two parties bound themselves to do nothing contrary to their alliance with the Rhodians, there is no mention of Rome.

With the outbreak of the war against Perseus of Macedonia, however, Rome's relations with the cities of Asia, as well as of Greece, began to grow closer. It was Rome's first war in the East since the overthrow of Antiochus, and aid was offered by those eastern cities which had previously given her support. In 171, the first year of the war, Samos, as well as Chalcedon and Heracleia Pontica sent contingents of ships to join the Roman navy.⁴ In the following year representatives from several city-states appeared before the Senate,⁵ among them envoys from the Milesians, who professed

¹ See P. Ghione in *Mem. Accad. Torino, Cl. Sc. Mor., etc.*, LV (1905), p. 74.

² Polybius, XXI, 46 (48), 1. The principle was, of course, no new one, for as early as the middle of the seventh century the expedient had been adopted of submitting territorial claims to the decision of a neutral power; see A. Raeder, *L'Arbitrage internat. chez les Hellènes* (Oslo, 1912), p. 144 f., and M. N. Tod, *Internat. Arbitration amongst the Greeks* (Oxford, 1913), p. 54 f. What was new, however—if the ἀπεδωκαν of Polybius is to be taken literally—is that the commissioners assigned the referees.

³ For the *sympoliteia* with Pidasa (or Pedasa) in 176-175, see p. 163, n. 1. For the treaty with Heracleia ad Latnum, see *Milet*, I, 3, p. 357 f., No. 150 = *Syll.*³, 633, dated in 173-172 by Rehm in *S.B. Bayer. Akad.*, 1923, VIII, p. 12 f. This treaty, in keeping with the commissioners' injunctions, contained a clause (l. 78 f.) providing that a dispute over a certain territory should be referred to δικάσται to be sent by some free city.

⁴ Livy, XLII, 56, 6.

⁵ Livy, XLIII, 6, 1 f. The whole passage is taken from an annalistic source. It is not improbable that the envoys from the cities came to Rome at this time, but the correctness

themselves ready to carry out whatever the Fathers might enjoin. Lampsacus also sent envoys, who brought a golden wreath as an offering to Jupiter Capitolinus, and, repeating the petition presented in 196, requested that the city might be included in whatever treaty should be made at the end of the war and so be acknowledged as an ally. Their request was granted, and Lampsacus, the first of the Asianic cities to enter into relations with the Senate, was now formally enrolled among the allies of Rome. Samos, Miletus, and Heracleia Pontica had presumably been previously included in the list of allies, and before 160, Priene and Magnesia-on-Maeander, who are referred to as "friends and allies" in a *senatus consultum* apparently passed not later than this year,¹ were also admitted.

It is possible that at this time an alliance was made with Alabanda. According to Livy's chronology,² the city in 170 sent envoys to Rome, who, like those from Lampsacus, brought a golden wreath to Jupiter; they also informed the Senate that Alabanda had built a temple to *Urbs Roma*, thus placing itself, like Smyrna in 195, under the protection of Rome. Unfortunately the status of Alabanda during this period is unknown. Manlius Vulso had befriended the city in 189,³ but we may not infer from his action that the freedom previously conferred on Alabanda by Antiochus III was acknowledged by Rome or that the city was not included in that portion of Caria which Rhodes had received at Apameia. In any case, Alabanda seems to have tried to weaken the power of Rhodes in Caria, for in 167, about the time of the "liberation" of this district from Rhodian rule, it combined with Mylasa in an attempt to gain possession of the Plain of Mendelia but was defeated by a Rhodian army.⁴ If the date of the city's mission to the Senate,

of the details is perhaps questionable. In particular, the statement attributed to the envoys from Lampsacus, namely, that the city had been under the power of Philip and Perseus (§ 8), was regarded as fictitious by Nissen (*Krit. Untersuchungen*, p. 258) on the ground that it is improbable that, after resisting Antiochus, Lampsacus submitted to Macedonian rule.

¹ *Inscr. v. Magn.*, 93 = *Syll.*³, 679, dated between 175 and 160 by Holleaux in *BCH*, XLVIII (1924), p. 396 = *SEG*, IV, 508. Priene, as well as Samos, is also described as an ally in a *senatus consultum* of 135 (see p. 182, n. 1).

² Livy, XLIII, 6, 5 f. Since other events, the record of which was taken from a similar annalistic source, are dated too early (see p. 172, nn. 1 and 2), it is not improbable that Livy's date of this embassy is also incorrect and that its arrival should be placed somewhat later.

³ Livy, XXXVIII, 13, 2 f., where it is related that Manlius captured for the city a rebellious *castellum*.

⁴ Polybius, XXX, 5, 15 = Livy, XLV, 25, 13; see also p. 172, n. 2.

as recorded by Livy, is correct, the purpose of the Alabandians was presumably to secure Rome's support against Rhodes; ¹ if, as is not impossible, the date should be placed somewhat later, their action may have been taken in consequence of the liberation of Caria.

It is tempting to connect with this mission a decree of Alabanda, honouring a citizen who was sent as envoy to the Senate on two different occasions.² On the first of these he reminded the Fathers of the services which the city had rendered to their armies, and succeeded in obtaining his request for the renewal of the existing good relations and the grant of an alliance; on the second, he secured a senatorial "decree for exemption from the payment of tribute." The difficulty, however, both of dating the inscription and of defining what is meant by this "exemption" makes it impossible either to establish any definite connexion with the mission placed by Livy in 170 or to determine the time at which Alabanda became a Roman ally.

¹ Alabanda's establishment of the cult of *Urbs Roma* was attributed by von Wilamowitz (GGA, 1914, p. 98, n. 1) to the citizens' desire to secure Rome's aid in freeing themselves from Rhodian domination.

² BCH, X (1886), p. 299 f., No. 1 = *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, XI (1898), p. 258 f., a decree in honour of Pyrrha[cus]. The reference to τὰς χρεῖας [ἀς] παρέσχηται (Alabanda) εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα αὐτῶν is most naturally to be connected with the visit of Manlius Vulso in 189, and the inscription, accordingly, was dated at this time both by the original editors and by Holleaux in *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, XI, p. 261 f. It is difficult, however, to believe that the Senate entered into an alliance with Alabanda as early as 189, and, moreover, the use of the perfect tense makes it possible to suppose that the time at which the "services" were rendered was long past. The statement that Pyrrhacus' second mission was περὶ τῶν φόρων and that he secured a δόγμα περὶ τῆς ἀφορολογησίας is harder to explain, since there is no reason to suppose that in the second century Alabanda paid φόρος to Rome. It is possible that here, as in the Roman praetor's letter recognizing the inviolability of Teos (see p. 169, n. 1), ἀφορολογησία was loosely used for αὐτονομία, and the δόγμα may have been the recognition of Alabanda's liberation from Rhodian rule. The chief difficulty contained in the decree, however, is the statement that Pyrrhacus died in the course of a mission πρὸς τὴν Βασιλέα περὶ τῶν των. The monarch in question can hardly have been Antiochus III (as Holleaux suggested) or any of his successors, for after his expulsion from western Asia Minor it is difficult to understand why Alabanda should have sent an envoy to one of the Seleucids. A different solution of the problem was proposed by Willrich in *Hermes*, XXXIV (1899), p. 305 f., who suggested that "the king" was Mithridates Eupator and, accordingly, dated the inscription after the First Mithridatic War. It is even more difficult, however, to see why, after Mithridates had abandoned all claim to western Asia Minor and returned to Pontus, Alabanda should have sent an envoy to him. The only other possibility is a Pergamene monarch, either Eumenes II or Attalus II, whom Alabanda might conceivably have requested to recognize its independence. But it seems scarcely probable that a city of Caria, which was not included in the Pergamene kingdom, would refer to either Eumenes or Attalus as "the king." The problem, therefore, of the date of the inscription and the occasion of the various missions it records seems to be insoluble.

It seems highly probable that after the revocation of the "gift" of Caria and the consequent diminution of the power of Rhodes, Rome adopted a more liberal policy in regard to entering into alliances with the cities of Asia. It is perhaps possible to place at this time a dedication on the Capitolium made by Tabae, a city on the eastern edge of Caria, in which Tabae is described as a "friend and ally" of Rome.¹ This monument has generally been dated after the defeat of Mithridates Eupator, when a *senatus consultum* issued under Sulla confirmed the freedom of Tabae; but the fact

¹ *CIL*, I², 730b = VI, 30922b = *IG*, XIV, p. 696 = *IGR*, I, 63. For the *senatus consultum de Tabenis* of the time of Sulla, see *OGI*, 442; a much improved copy has been made by Buckler and will appear in *MAMA*, VI. The inscription of Tabae at Rome was on the same monument as a bilingual dedication by King Mithridates Philopator Philadelphus (*CIL*, I², 730a = VI, 30922a = Dessau, *ILS*, 30 = *OGI*, 375 = *IGR*, I, 62), and, to judge from the place where it was found, was erected on the Capitolium. This monument was assigned to the time of Sulla by Mommsen in *Zft. f. Numism.*, XV (1887), p. 209 f. = *Ges. Schr.*, IV, p. 71 f., who identified the monarch with a hypothetical son of Mithridates Eupator, supposed to have been made king of Paphlagonia by Sulla. Other monuments from the Capitolium record dedications to Jupiter by the *κοινὸν* of the Lycians *κομισάμενον τὴν πατρίον δημοκρατίαν* (*CIL*, I², 725 = VI, 30920 = *IG*, XIV, 986 = Dessau, 31 = *OGI*, 551 = *IGR*, I, 61) and by two unknown Greek cities, each described as *σύμμαχος* (*CIL*, I², 732 = VI, 30921 [= *IG*, XIV, 988] and 30928 = *IGR*, I, 66 and 67), as well as a dedication by King Ariobarzanes (*CIL*, I², 731 = VI, 30924), usually identified with the prince of this name whom Sulla acknowledged as king of Cappadocia. Another group of monuments, which perhaps stood on the Esquiline Hill, consisted of the mention of a favour to the Lycians (*CIL*, I², 726 = VI, 30927 = Dessau, 32), a bilingual dedication by the Laodiceians (*Populus Laodicensis af Lyco*, *CIL*, I², 728 = VI, 30925 = *IG*, XIV, 987 = Dessau, 33 = *IGR*, I, 65), and a Latin dedication by the Ephesians (*CIL*, I², 727 = VI, 30926 = Dessau, 34). All these inscriptions, like the monument of Mithridates Philopator, were assigned to the time of Sulla by Mommsen (*CIL*, I¹, p. 170) and by Hülsen (*Röm. Mitt.*, IV [1889], p. 252 f. and *CIL*, VI, 4, p. 3034), whose dating was adopted in *CIL*, I², p. 534. It was shown, however, by Th. Reinach in *Rev. num.*, VI (1902), p. 54 f. = *L'Hist. par les Monnaies* (Paris, 1902), p. 129, that the monarch is Mithridates IV of Pontus, who succeeded his brother Pharnaces I about 169, and this identification has found acceptance, e.g. by Geyer in *RE*, XV, 2161 f., No. 10. This monument, accordingly, must be dated between 169 and 150, and presumably soon after Mithridates' accession, when his offering would most naturally be made; the dedication by Tabae would, therefore, also date from this period, i.e. about 167, when Caria was taken from Rhodes. Reinach also pointed out that the Lycian inscriptions are most easily placed in this time also, when the Senate likewise freed them from Rhodian rule; Mommsen's argument that this action of the Senate's resulted only in the withdrawal of the Rhodian garrisons and that the Lycians did not actually receive their liberty until the time of Sulla is based only on a brief list of Appian (*Mith.*, 61) containing the names of some states freed by Sulla, all of which are known to have been free previously. If the inscriptions of Mithridates, Tabae, and the Lycians are to be dated about 167, the question arises whether those of Laodiceia and Ephesus may not also be assigned to this time. With regard to these two cities, Mommsen argued that the Laodiceians, who had surrendered to Mithridates Eupator after suffering serious loss during a siege by the king (Appian, *Mith.*, 20, and Strabo, XII, 8, 16, p. 578), could have regarded the Romans, when finally victorious over him, as their "saviours," and that the Ephesians, although Sulla

that the name of Mithridates' grandfather (or great uncle) also appears on it seems to place it soon after 169. About the same time Laodiceia-on-Lycus erected a monument in Rome, in which it described the Roman people as the city's "saviour and benefactor." The inscription may refer to the recognition of the city's independence, which was perhaps granted at this time. It is also possible that Ephesus, which, because of its support of Antiochus, had been assigned to Eumenes II by the commissioners at Apameia, received independence at this period. A somewhat similar inscription records the presence in Rome of two envoys sent by the Ephesians and an offering in gratitude for the restoration of their city's "ancestral freedom." Ephesus was autonomous in 132, when it manned a fleet of ships and defeated Aristonicus during his attempt to seize the kingdom of Pergamum,¹ and also toward the end of the second century, when it owned an extensive territory, including the neighbouring town of Pygela on the coast south of the city.

In any case, with the victory over Perseus in 167 there began a period of greater friendliness toward the communities of Asia. In this year many cities sent embassies to Rome,² as did also the Rhodians, who were importuning the Senate for the coveted alliance. Soon afterward there arrived two envoys from Teos.³ Their errand was not for the benefit of their own city but for that of Abdera in Thrace, which had been colonized by Teians. A petition had been presented to the Senate by the son of King Cotys of Thrace, who wished to annex Abdera to his own kingdom and

punished the partisans of Mithridates (Appian, *Mith.*, 61), received from him the *δημοκρατία* which had been abolished under Pontic rule; these arguments, however, are too imaginative to be convincing. No argument as to the date, moreover, can be drawn from the inscription of Ariobarzanes, for it is expressly noted that this is in *litteris paulo recentioribus*.

¹ Strabo, XIV, 1, 38, p. 646; for Ephesus' ownership of Pygela, see *IG*, XII, 3, 171, and Suppl. 1286 = *IGR*, IV, 1029. Ephesus was evidently independent about 104, when it sent Artemidorus as a special envoy to the Senate to protest against the seizure of certain revenues of Artemis by the *publicani* and to ask for a decision in the city's favour against a rebellious dependency (Strabo, XIV, 1, 26, p. 642), and also in 94-93, when with the help of the Roman governor Scaevola it made a treaty with Sardis (*Inscr. v. Perg.* 268 = *OGI*, 437 = *IGR*, IV, 297).

² Livy, XLV, 20, 4 (from an annalistic source). Rhodes was not formally received into an alliance until 164; see Polybius, XXX, 31 (XXXI, 7), 19 f. and Livy, *Per.*, XLVI.

³ *Syll.*³, 656 = *IGR*, IV, 1558, a decree of Abdera honouring the Teian envoys. The inscription must be dated after 167, when Cotys' son Bithys, who had been captured in the war against Perseus, was sent back to his father by order of the Senate; see Polybius, XXX, 17 (18), and Livy, XLV, 42, 6 f.

desired the Fathers' consent, and this annexation the Teians endeavoured to prevent. Their method seems to have been one of private persuasion rather than of argument before the Senate, for they presented their case to the individual senators who favoured Cotys' petition, "taking part in the daily round of visits to their *atria*." The honours conferred on them by the *demos* of Abdera seem to show that they accomplished their purpose.

Unfortunately it is not clear whether Rome's alliances with the cities of Asia made during this period were based on sworn treaties, which, as long as both parties abode by the terms prescribed, could be revoked only by mutual consent, or whether they depended on grants made by the Senate and therefore revocable by an act of the Fathers—whether, as it is technically expressed, the cities were *civitates liberae et foederatae* or simply *civitates liberae*.¹ Apart from the perhaps untrustworthy mention of a sworn treaty between Rome and Heracleia Pontica, said to have been concluded not long after 188,² the first definitely known instance of a treaty of this kind with an Asianic state is that made with Cibyra, east of Caria.³ Manlius Vulso, during his predatory expedition in Caria and Pisidia in 189, by threatening to sack the city and devastate the country, had extorted one hundred talents and a quantity of grain from the local tyrant Moagetes. Cibyra and its extensive territory were not attached to the Pergamene kingdom but continued to exist as an independent state, placing itself under Rome's protection by erecting a statue, evidently a cult-image, of Roma. This treaty is to be dated not long after the conference at Apameia, and in any case earlier than 167, when Cibyra refused to harbour Polyaratus, a Rhodian agent of Perseus, whose surrender had been demanded by Rome. It is evident, accordingly, that by the end of the first

¹ For the distinction see Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, III, p. 652 f.

² Memnon, 26, 4, where it is said that copies of the treaty, inscribed on bronze tablets, were set up in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome and in that of Zeus in Heracleia.

³ OGI, 762. The lettering is that of the early second century. The treaty ordered that copies should be inscribed in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and ἐπὶ τῆς βάσεως τῆς Ῥώμης at Cibyra; as this must have been a sacred place, it may be supposed that a cult of Roma had been established in the city. For the date of the treaty see Täubler, *Imp. Romanum*, I, pp. 44 ff. and 454 f., where the Polyaratus-incident (for which see Polybius, XXX, 9, 13 f.) is placed, through an oversight, in 187-186 instead of in 167-166. For Manlius in Cibyra see Polybius, XXI, 34, 3 f. = Livy, XXXVIII, 14, 3 f. For Cibyra's existence as an independent state down to 84 B.C., see Strabo, XIII, 4, 17, p. 631.

third of the century, the Romans had at least begun to recognize the city-states of Asia as *civitates foederatae*.

The second formally sworn treaty of which we have knowledge is one concluded with Methymna on the Island of Lesbos.¹ This document, which contains the clauses customarily found in treaties, including the promise of mutual assistance in the event of war, is usually dated about the time of the formation of the Roman province of Asia. This dating, however, rests on very slender evidence, and at the time of Aristonicus' revolt in 132 Methymna had already formed an alliance with Rome. Moreover, as will presently be shown, the city was treated as an ally by the Romans in 154. It is, therefore, not improbable that the date should be placed before the middle of the century. As there is no particular reason why a city as insignificant as Methymna should be singled out among the communities of Asia for such a distinction, it may be supposed that in the course of the second century, before Rome acquired the province of Asia, similar sworn treaties were concluded with other free cities, which thus became *civitates foederatae*.²

The power of Rome, however, loomed large in Asia Minor, and the communities hesitated to take any step which might displease her. Thus in 163, when Rhodes, though now formally an ally, was not held in high favour at Rome, the unimportant town of Calynda on the neighbouring mainland, after revolting from Caunus, appealed for aid to the Rhodians. In return, the citizens

¹ IG, XII, 2, 510 = Syll.³, 693 = IGR, IV, 2. The resemblance of this treaty to that concluded with Astypalaea in 105 (see n. 2) was regarded by Cichorius in *Rhein. Mus.*, XLIV (1889), p. 443 f., as sufficient reason for dating it about the same time. Mommsen assigned it to the time of the revolt of Aristonicus (*S.B. Berl. Akad.*, 1895, p. 900 f.), and this view was accepted by Dittenberger, Täubler (*Imp. Romanum*, I, p. 45), and Rehm (*Milet*, I, 7, p. 294). This dating is based, however, solely on the fact that the lettering is of the period prior to the First Mithridatic War; a date earlier in the century therefore is equally possible. In fact, a resolution of the *Néoi* of Methymna, passed at the time when the Romans were engaged in war in Asia, and so presumably during the revolt of Aristonicus, mentions *τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς* (i.e. *Ῥωμαίους*) *συμμαχίαν*; see *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* VI (1920-21), p. 99 f., No. 1 = SEG, III, 710. For the close similarity of the clause providing for mutual assistance in war with the corresponding clauses in the treaties with Cibyra and Astypalaea, see Täubler, p. 55 f.

² After the formation of the province there are several instances of formal treaties e.g. with a city near the mouth of the Caicus, perhaps Pergamum, concluded soon after the revolt of Aristonicus (Syll.³, 694 = IGR, IV, 1692), with Astypalaea in 105 (CIG, 2485 = IG, XII, 3, 173 = IGR, IV, 1028), with Mytilene in 25 (IG, XII, 2, 35 = IGR, IV, 33), and with Cnidus perhaps about 45 B.C. (*Ἀθηνᾶ*, XI (1899), p. 283 f., Nos. 3 and 4 = Täubler, *Imp. Romanum*, I, p. 450 f. and Cichorius in *Rhein. Mus.*, LXXVI (1927), p. 327 f.).

offered to place themselves and their city in the Rhodians' hands, but the offer was not finally accepted until envoys from Rhodes had gone to Rome and received the Senate's formal ratification of Calynda's proposal.¹ Nevertheless, in its dealings with the city-states the Senate seems to have been scrupulous in observing the conventional forms of politeness. In 161 the Consul, C. Fannius Strabo, in obedience to a *senatus consultum*, wrote a letter to the magistrates of Cos, formally requesting a safe passage through the city's territory for some returning Jewish ambassadors.²

An alliance with Rome, it is true, was not without responsibilities. In the war against Perseus, Samos and Miletus seem to have taken the initiative in offering their services. But in 155, when the Romans, after a delay of two years, finally intervened in the war between Attalus II of Pergamum and Prusias II of Bithynia and renounced their alliance with the latter, they called upon their allies among the Ionian and Hellespontine cities to break off their relations with Prusias and assist Attalus to the best of their power.³ Cyzicus, at least, responded, sending twenty warships to Attalus' aid. As Prusias was evidently the aggressor, since he had invaded the Pergamene kingdom, that clause of a treaty which called for assistance in a war of defence could properly be invoked.

An alliance with a protector as powerful as Rome had, on the other hand, its distinct advantages. During his invasion of Attalus' kingdom Prusias had ravaged the territories of Methymna, Aegae, and Cyme, and when the Romans finally forced him to make peace, they ordered him to indemnify these cities for the losses they had suffered, as well as Heracleia Pontica, an ally of Rome, on which he had likewise inflicted damage.⁴ About the same time, the

¹ Polybius, XXXI, 4 (15) f. On the other hand, Ceramus, in forming an alliance with Rhodes, does not seem to have thought it necessary to secure Rome's permission; see *JHS*, XI (1890), p. 113 f., No. 1 = Michel, 458, a decree honouring the citizen who secured the alliance, and dated at this time by the editor (Hicks), followed by van Gelder in *Gesch. d. Alten Rhodier* (Hague, 1900), p. 158, and Hiller von Gaertringen in *RE*, Suppl. V, 798.

² Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, XIV, 10, 15, § 233. The C. Fannius C. f. στρατηγὸς ὑπατος who wrote the letter was supposed by Münzer (*RE*, VI, 1991) to be the C. Fannius who was propractor of Asia in 49. He was identified, however, with C. Fannius C. f. Strabo, consul in 161, by Niese in *Oriental. Stud. Th. Nöldeke . . . gewidmet* (Giessen, 1906), II, p. 817 f., and by Holleaux in *Στρατηγὸς Ὑπατος* (Paris, 1918), p. 5.

³ Polybius, XXXIII, 12, 8 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 13, 8. The indemnity for the four cities amounted to one hundred talents.

Senate intervened in behalf of Priene.¹ The city's territory had been plundered and the place itself besieged by Attalus II and his brother-in-law Ariarathes V of Cappadocia in revenge for its refusal to surrender to the latter a treasure of 400 talents deposited in Priene for safe-keeping by his rebellious half-brother Orophernes. The citizens, unable or unwilling to resist the attack of the two kings, appealed to Rome. The situation was not without its complications, for not only Priene but both monarchs also were Roman allies. Nevertheless, the Senate took formal action, bidding a magistrate write to the kings remonstrating with them for their acts of aggression.

On a later occasion, about 135, Cyzicus likewise requested Roman protection. During a war, in the course of which the city was actually besieged by the enemy, an envoy was despatched to the Roman praetor in Macedonia to ask for intervention.² It is recorded that the envoy "secured every advantage for the city"; nevertheless, he proceeded to Rome and obtained from the Senate a response which was "in keeping with his fellow-citizens' goodwill toward the Roman people."

It might seem that the protection thus extended by Rome would result in a certain amount of paternalism restricting the cities' freedom. This would apply especially to their relations with one another, and, in particular, to the settlement of the disputes which were continually arising. In fact, in several known instances where the method of adjudication by a neutral city, recommended by the commissioners at Apameia, was used by the disputants, the referee was appointed by Rome. The earliest of the cases of which we know was a dispute between Priene and Magnesia-on-Maeander, which seems to have taken place between 175 and 160.³ The bone

¹ *GIBM*, 424 = *Inscr. v. Priene*, 39 = *OGL*, 351. For the incident see also Polybius, XXXIII, 6.

² *S.B. Berl. Akad.*, 1889, p. 367 = *Mém. Acad. d. Inscr. et B.-L.*, XXXVII (1903), p. 323 = *IGR.*, IV, 134, found at Ulubad but generally assigned to Cyzicus. The praetor M. Cosconius was engaged in war in Thrace in 135; see Livy, *Per.*, LVI. The editors of the inscription, Cichorius and Foucart, followed by Münzer in *RE*, IV, 1669, supposed that the war mentioned in the document was the revolt of Aristonicus and that the envoy was sent to ask for assistance against him. But, apart from the fact that there is no reason to suppose that Cosconius was still in Thrace in 132, it is highly improbable that Cyzicus was threatened during this revolt, which seems to have been confined to southern Mysia, Lydia, and Ionia.

³ *Inscr. v. Magn.*, 93 = *Syll.*³, 679 (see p. 174, n. 1).

of contention was some territory near the mouth of the Maeander, which had apparently been awarded by a previous decision to Magnesia but was now claimed by Priene on the ground that the Magnesians had ceded it. Both claimants sent representatives to the Senate requesting the appointment of an adjudicator, and a *senatus consultum* was passed bidding the praetor name some free city, agreed upon by both parties, but with the further provision that if no agreement could be reached, he should make the appointment at his own discretion. The adjudication was referred to Mylasa, whose representatives, after a careful inspection of the land involved, decided in favour of Magnesia.

In 135 a dispute over land claimed by Priene and Samos was brought before the Senate.¹ The quarrel had raged for centuries. A portion of the territory had been awarded to Samos by Lysimachus, and at the beginning of the second century the Rhodians, with the consent of both parties, had assigned the remainder to Priene; this decision, however, had been reversed by Manlius Vulso and his fellow commissioners, who awarded the land to Samos. Now both parties sent envoys to the Senate, each desiring the confirmation of the award previously made in its favour. In this case the Fathers themselves rendered a decision, ruling that it was "not expedient" to alter the Rhodians' decision.

During this century also the Senate dealt with what seems to have been a dispute between Mylasa and Stratoniceia, of which, however, all precise knowledge is lacking,² and a quarrel between Priene and Miletus was referred to Smyrna, apparently by a Roman magistrate, but possibly by a king of Pergamum.³

Even in cases lying outside Asia Minor, the judgment was referred to Asianic cities. About 140 a dispute between the Messenians and the Lacedaemonians was adjudicated by the Milesians, acting on instructions from the Senate conveyed in a

¹ *CIG*, 2905 = *LW*, 195-198 = *GIBM*, 405 = *Inscr. v. Priene*, 41 = *Syll.*³, 688. For the history of the long dispute, see *GIBM*, 403 = *Inscr. v. Priene*, 37 = *Syll.*³, 599 (ll. 1-44 only), and Lysimachus' letter to Samos, *CIG*, 2254 = *OGI*, 13 = Welles, No. 7.

² *BCH*, V (1881), p. 101 f., No. 6; see also E. Sonne, *De arbitris externis, etc.* (Göttingen, 1888), p. 17. The portion of the inscription dealing with this apparent dispute is almost entirely lacking.

³ *GIBM*, 412 = *Inscr. v. Priene*, 27 = Welles, No. 46 (a mere fragment). As Welles observed (p. 190), the peremptory tone of the letter suggests that the writer was a Roman rather than one of the Pergamene kings, who ordinarily used greater courtliness in their communications to the cities.

letter from the praetor.¹ During the following decade—probably in 133—a dispute between the communities of Itanus and Hierapytna in Crete, which appears to have been one of long standing and even to have involved the two communities in war, was brought to the Senate by the two parties separately.² The Fathers thereupon referred the matter to Magnesia-on-Maeander, which seems previously, likewise at the request of the Senate, to have rendered a decision on the same question.

We may not suppose, however, that the disputants were compelled to submit their quarrels to Rome for decision. In the disputes of Priene with Magnesia and with Samos and in that between the two Cretan cities—the only cases of which we have full details—the cities themselves took the initiative by appealing to the Senate. There are other cases, dating from this century, in which no part was taken by Rome. Thus a dispute, probably before 150, between the two communities of Methymna and Eresus, in which land seems to have been involved, was settled by a body of arbitrators from Miletus, Samos, and Aegae,³ and the claims of Mytilene and Pitane to territory bought by the latter from Antiochus I were adjudicated by representatives of Pergamum, which, apparently, intervened in the quarrel on its own initiative.⁴ Even after the

¹ *Inscr. v. Olympia*, 52 = *Syll.*³, 683.

² The document exists in two copies (neither of which is complete) found, respectively, near Itanus and at Magnesia: *CIG*, 2561b, and *Inscr. v. Magn.*, 105, combined in *Syll.*³, 685 = *IGR*, I, 1021. It can be dated only by the mention of the consul L. Calpurnius L.f. Piso. It was held by Ritschl in *Rhein. Mus.*, XXVIII (1873), p. 601 f., followed by Mommsen in *Hermes*, IX (1875), p. 281 f. = *Ges. Schr.*, IV, p. 146 f., that the praenomen of Piso, consul in 139, was Lucius, as given in Valerius Maximus, I, 3, 3, and not Gnaeus, as in Cassiodorus, and Viereck in *Genethliacon Gottingense* (Halle, 1888), pp. 60 and 64, observed that the consul of this inscription may have been either this man or the consul of 133, whose name is known to have been L. Calpurnius L.f. Piso. This view was followed by Kern, Dittenberger, and Münzer (in *RE*, III, 1382 f., No. 73). In the Epitome of Livy subsequently found at Oxyrhynchus, however, the praenomen of the consul of 139 appears, in agreement with Cassiodorus, as Gnaeus; see Kornemann in *Klio, Beiheft* II, p. 31, and p. 73, n. 3, and Münzer in *RE, Suppl.*, III, 230. If the reading of the Epitome may be regarded as correct, the Piso of the inscription is evidently the consul of 133.

³ *Milet*, I, 3, p. 368 f., No. 152. During the early second century a dispute between Phocaea and Smyrna seems to have been negotiated by at least one *πρεσβευτής* sent by Priene (*Inscr. v. Priene*, 65), and during this century Miletus sent two *δικασταί* to the *ἔθνος* of the Thessalians (*IG*, IX, 2, 508), but for what purpose the present condition of the inscription does not show.

⁴ *Inscr. v. Perg.*, 245 = *OGI*, 335. The date of the inscription is doubtful. To judge by the lettering, it is not earlier than 150, and because of the letters . . . *ου βασι* . . . in l. 90 it has generally been dated under one of the Pergamene kings, either Attalus II or Attalus III. The evidence of these few letters, however, is not conclusive, and the fact that

Romans acquired the province of Asia they continued to refrain from interference in the cities' affairs. When Rhodes and Stratoniceia, in a dispute over their respective boundaries, voted to send representatives to Rome to ask for a decision, the cities were able to rescind their action at the suggestion of envoys from Bargylia and to submit the question to Bargylia for adjudication.¹ Even in a case in which Romans were involved, namely, the protest made by Priene to the Roman governor against the seizure by the *publicani* of salt-pans claimed by the Temple of Athena, the Senate seems to have referred the matter to Erythrae for decision.²

However insincere the Romans may have been when it served their purpose against Philip and Antiochus to profess an interest in the freedom of the Greeks, and however opportunistic their foreign policy in general during the second century, there is no evidence either of insincerity or inconsistency in their dealings with the city-states of Asia. In 188 they fulfilled their promise by recognizing the independence of those communities which had sided with them. During the half-century that followed, many cities were received into the alliance which they coveted in the belief that it would assure them protection. Their frequent embassies seem always to have been received by the Senate with courtesy, despite the flow of Greek oratory which must often have tried the Fathers' patience. In all known instances the cities' requests were granted, and the gifts which they sent were politely accepted. We know of no dealings with any city-state in which the initiative was not taken by the city itself, and there is no instance of Rome's interference in a city's internal affairs or in its relations with another community. As far as our knowledge extends, Rome, during this period, made no misuse of her power nor was she guilty of any act of aggression toward the cities.

The motive that prompted this policy, so consistently followed, lies entirely within the realm of conjecture. In this age in which any government's actions are viewed somewhat cynically, it is

Pergamum seems to have been acting as an independent city suggests the period after Attalus III, by whose will it was declared free.

¹ *Mém. Acad. Inscr. et B.-L.*, XXXVII (1903), p. 334 f. = *Rev. Ét. Anc.*, XXI (1919), p. 16 = Holleaux, *Études d'Épigr. et d'Hist. Grecques*, II, p. 194 f.

² *Inscr. v. Priene*, III, l. 114 f. During the same period Priene seems to have been involved in disputes with Miletus, which, with the aid of the Senate, were settled by Erythrae and Sardis; see *Inscr. v. Priene*, III, l. 145 f.; 120; 121.

difficult to believe that the Roman Senate was actuated by a genuine and consistent interest in the cities' welfare or by a real desire to promote the prosperity of Asia. It is also difficult to suppose that the aid rendered by the cities in time of war was of real importance to Rome. It is possible that the influx of Italians, large numbers of whom settled in Asia after the formation of the Roman province,¹ began during this period, and that their presence furnished a reason for maintaining cordial relations with the city-states, which were the ports of the country. On the other hand, it is perhaps no mere coincidence that Rome's friendliness to the cities seems to have increased after the war with Perseus, at the close of which the Senate humiliated Eumenes II and deprived the Rhodians of a large part of their mainland dominions. The suspicion inevitably arises that those who wished to lessen the prestige of Pergamum and to weaken the power of Rhodes believed that the cultivation of good relations with the city-states and the consequent strengthening of their position might aid in accomplishing this purpose.

Although a certain amount of paternalism may have resulted from the protection given by an all-powerful ally, and although the Greek spirit of independence may have been weakened by the restraint imposed on the cities' ancient privilege of settling their disputes after their own fashion, as Miletus and Magnesia had done by the war which was brought to an end in 196 by the mediation of nine Asianic communities acting together with Athens and the Achaean League,² it is, nevertheless, evident that the power of Rome promoted the general peace of Asia and the prosperity of the individual communities. The cities, moreover, seem to have acquiesced in whatever loss of liberty was involved. When Attalus III bequeathed the possessions of his dynasty to the Roman people, and his half-brother, disputing the bequest, raised the standard of revolt, the Greek cities held fast to their alliances with Rome and none of them, with the single exception of Phocaea, willingly supported the claimant.³

¹ About 125 B.C. there was an organization of resident Romans in Pergamum, who had presumably settled in the city under the kings; see *OGI*, 764 = *IGR*, IV, 294, l. 19, corrected in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIX (1904), p. 389, and for the date *BCH*, LIV (1930), p. 337.

² *Milet*, I, 3, p. 341 f., No. 148 = *Syll.*³, 588. Miletus was aided by Heracleia and Magnesia by Priene.

³ Justin, XXXVII, 1, 1. According to Florus, I, 35, 4, Aristonicus captured Myndus, Samos, and Colophon by force.

KARIC TOWNS IN THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

by BENJAMIN D. MERITT

It is a pleasure to submit to Mr. Buckler suggestions for the location or identification of several towns in Karia, for which evidence is to be derived from the Athenian tribute-quota lists of the fifth century. The following items depend on new readings or interpretations in the lists of 453-452 and 451-450 B.C.

I. ALINDA

There appears in *SEG*, V, 4 (col. V, l. 21), the entry ΗΔ -- 'Αλ[οπεκοννέσιοι]. This reading represents the traditional text, except for the first publication by Pittakys, who restored [X]αλ[κητορείς] without, however, giving correctly the disposition of the letters on the surface of the stone.¹ The stone is preserved to-day, and there can be no doubt that the initial letters of the name are alpha lambda. The third letter, following the lambda, has not been preserved; but so much of the surface remains that the possibility of reading omicron (= omega) is almost certainly excluded. The letter, although no trace of it now exists, must be restored as iota, for the condition of the stone shows what the letter must have been, though the letter itself is completely lost.

The restoration 'Αλ[ικαρνάσσιοι] is rendered improbable by the fact that the tribute-quota of Halikarnassos appears elsewhere in the same inscription (col. I, l. 31). Nevertheless, the identification with towns of Karia of most of the names in the lower register of this last column of *SEG*, V, 4, makes it extremely probable that this entry also represents a Karic city. I suggest the restoration 'Αλ[ινδές].

¹ *Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1853, No. 1284. I note in passing that Robert's reading *Χαλκετορείς* (*AJA*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 338), corrects the accent as reported by Craterus of Macedon, but that it records a wrong quantity for the second vowel. Cf. Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. *Χαλκητόριον*.

Alinda was a city of sufficient importance,¹ so that the quota of ΗΔ -- does not represent an amount of tribute unduly large. The numerals preserved indicate an odd sum, probably an incomplete payment, in the year 451-450 B.C. If this is true, the normal quota may have been at least 150 or 200 drachmai. It is a figure which renders probable the restoration of still another item in one of the earlier lists (*SEG*, V, 2, col. IV, l. 19: HH 'A[λινδῆς]).

II. BOLBAI

In the quota list, *SEG*, V, 2, the reading ΔΓΓΗ Βο[υθειῆ]ς was given in col. I, l. 14. The name had usually been restored as [Βουθειῆ]ς² or as Β[ουθειῆ]ς.³ Actually, part of the first letter is preserved, so that it may be interpreted as beta or lambda; part of the omicron is preserved; and the complete final sigma is clear. One may also detect on the stone part of the penultimate epsilon, and the correct reading in *SEG*, V, 2, should therefore be Βο[υθει]ῆς.

This seemed reasonably certain until Wade-Gery's discovery that *SEG*, V, 7, was in part from the same quota list as *SEG*, V, 2.⁴ It so happens that in *SEG*, V, 7, the item ΗΗΗ Βουθειῆ(ς) has been preserved. This represents apparently a complete payment of tribute, sufficient to cover all the members of the Erythraean syntely except Erythrai. Another payment from Boutheia, recorded at the beginning of the same list, and with a quota of only 17 $\frac{1}{6}$ drachmai, would be anomalous. Furthermore, the association with other Karic names at the bottom of col. I, and particularly the curious similarity of the quotas, militate against including Boutheia, an Ionic town, in the group. Another restoration must be sought for the preserved letters in question.

For this item I suggest Βο[λβαι]ῆς, with reference to Stephanos: Βόλβαι, πόλις Καρίας -- τὸ ἐθνικὸν Βολβαῖος. The variant form of the ethnic is no more irregular than that of Hairai, which appears in the quota lists now as *hairaioi* and now as *hairaiês*. The town of Bolbai was not a regular member of the Athenian Empire, but

¹ See Hirschfeld, *s.v.* in *RE*. For the site of Alinda, see Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, p. 22.

² Köhler, *Urkunden und Untersuchungen*, p. 8.

³ Kirchhoff in *IG*, I, 227; Hiller in *IG*, I², 192.

⁴ *BSA*, XXXIII, pp. 101-113.

for that matter neither were some of the other cities listed with it in the same section of *SEG*, V, 2.¹

III. OULA

In *SEG*, V, 2, the reading ΔΓΗΗ 'Ολα[τ]ες appears in col. I, l. 20. This is not the traditional text, for Köhler and Kirchhoff both read the name as 'Ολα.êς.² The restoration 'Ολα[τ]ες was adopted by Hiller in the *editio minor* of the *Corpus*, *IG*, I², 192, from a form proposed by Bruno Keil.³ It is my belief, after studying squeezes and photographs of the stone, that the missing letter cannot have been tau. There is enough space still preserved after the alpha so that part of the horizontal stroke, if there ever was one, should now appear on the stone. The nature of the fracture makes the letter iota alone seem possible, and the restoration should be given as 'Ολα[ι]ês. This name has nothing to do with the 'Ολατες or with the 'Ολατικὸς πόλεμος, but represents, rather, the ethnic of a small town, Oula or Oulai, presumably not far removed from the other Karic communities listed in this inscription at the end of col. I.⁴

IV. THYDONOS

In *SEG*, V, 4, there is listed the entry ΔΓΗΙΙΙ Θυδα--- in col. V, l. 29. The same reading was given by Meritt and West in their publication of this quota list in 1925,⁵ based upon the text as it appears in the *Corpus*, *IG*, I², 194. In neither case is the final alpha marked as doubtful, though the supposed reading from the stone has never amounted to more than the left stroke of the letter. This was shown in Köhler's plate on fragment 13, though he restored Θυδ[α]---.⁶ Kirchhoff, in *IG*, I, 229, was the first to read the alpha without restoration.

¹ See Meritt, *Documents on Athenian Tribute*, p. 92.

² *Urkunden und Untersuchungen*, p. 9; *IG*, I, 227.

³ *Hermes*, XXXI, p. 472.

⁴ Allen West always suspected the restoration 'Ολα[τ]ες. I am indebted to Malcolm McGregor for calling my attention to Kiepert's suggestion (*FOA*, IX, p. 5) that the name may have survived in the modern Ula, near the head of the Ceramic gulf. In his index Köhler suggested the restoration 'Ολα[ι]ês (*op. cit.*, p. 191) and a possible identification with Αὔλιᾶται. This interpretation is precluded by the fact that the name Αὔλιᾶται appears elsewhere in both the lists of 454-453 and 453-452 B.C.

⁵ *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.*, LVI (1925), plate facing p. 256.

⁶ *Urkunden und Untersuchungen*, pp. 13, 202.

The first editor, Pittakys, read the letters ΘΥΑ, and attempted no restoration.¹ His alpha is obviously the delta which appears on the stone to-day. Rangabé then read the strokes ΘΥΛ, which he restored as Θύσ[σίοι].² Influenced apparently more by the restoration than by the reading from the stone Pittakys in his second publication³ printed ΘΥΣΙ with the restoration Θύσι[οι]. This may now be entirely disregarded. In the meantime, Boeckh⁴ had copied the majuscule text as given by Rangabé; he proposed no restoration, but read the entry merely as ΔΓΗΙΙΙ Θυδ-- (*op. cit.*, p. 441) and mentioned the possibility of its identification with Thydonos in Karia (*op. cit.*, p. 690).

The identification given by Boeckh was correct. The present text has grown with progressive certainty for the alpha, though in fact the only authority is Rangabé's reading of the tip of one stroke. This tip appeared as a complete stroke in the majuscule texts of Köhler and Kirchhoff, and again as a mere tip, taken from Rangabé, in the publication by Meritt and West. An examination of the stone now shows no tip like that which Rangabé recorded; on the contrary, there is preserved above the omicron of Σίλο[ι] from the line below enough of the original surface of the marble to render extremely unlikely any letter, like alpha, which must have extended well down and to the left in its letter space. The reading should, I believe, be Θύδ[ονος]. Thydonos is named as one of the Karic towns by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, V, 109), and it appears in an appropriate context with other Karic towns near the end of col. V in SEG, V, 4.

¹ *L'ancienne Athènes* (1835), p. 430.

² *Antiquités Helléniques*, I (1842), No. 142.

³ *Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1853, No. 1162.

⁴ *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, II² (1851), No. XVIII (Plate II).

DIE ERSTE MILESISCHE KOLONISATION IM SÜDPONTUS

von FRANZ MILTNER

SCHON vor Jahren hat Th. Lenschau darauf hingewiesen, dass die ionische Kolonisation in der Anlage ihrer Siedlungen von einer weitgehenden Systematik beherrscht erscheint, die aus handelspolitischen Erwägungen heraus insbesondere auf die Gewinnung der Endpunkte der durch das nördliche Kleinasien verlaufenden Handelsstrassen bedacht war¹ und die Ausschaltung der durch den lydischen Imperialismus geschaffenen Behinderungen bezweckte.² Da es sich dabei einerseits um die Strasse handelt, die an die Küste der Propontis herabführt, andererseits um jene, die in dem östlichen Abschnitt der pontischen Südküste das Meer erreicht, so muss es auffällig scheinen, dass in diesen beiden Bereichen die Überlieferung schon für die Mitte des 8. Jhs. v. Chr. von Städtegründungen wissen will, indem Eusebios, unsere diesbezügliche Hauptquelle, sowohl für Trapezus wie für Kyzikus das Jahr 756/5 als Zeit der Gründung angibt.³ Da er aber für Kyzikus mit 675/4 ein zweites Gründungsjahr überliefert, das sich dem allgemeinen chronologischen Rahmen der Kolonisationsbewegung ungezwungen einfügen scheint und Trapezus als Tochterstadt von Sinope nicht wohl vor dieser Gründung angelegt sein kann, so hielt man sich für berechtigt, die älteren Gründungsdaten als übertrieben, einfach als Erfindung hinzustellen.⁴

¹ *Klio*, XIII, 1913, pp. 175 ff.

² Vgl. auch U. Wilcken, *Gr. Gesch.*³, p. 66 f., und das etwas einschränkende Urteil bei Berve, *Gr. Gesch.*, I, p. 123.

³ Vgl. die Liste bei Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, I/2², p. 231, und Bilabel, *Die jonische Kolonisation*, p. 66.

⁴ E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altert.*, II, p. 443, Anm.; Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, I/2², p. 232 f.; Ruge, *RE*, VI/A, p. 2215; hinsichtlich Kyzikus entscheidet sich Ruge, *RE*, XII, p. 229, für keines der beiden Daten. Zweifelnd, wenn auch nicht völlig ablehnend verhält sich J. L. Myres, *CAH*, III, pp. 658 ff.

Wäre für eine derartige Behauptung überhaupt einmal erst der Beweis der Erfindung oder wenigstens ihrer Veranlassung zu erbringen, so berechtigt jedenfalls die Wichtigkeit der Frage eines griechischen Vorstosses in der Mitte des 8. Jhs. v. Chr. in das pontische Meer, dem entsprechende Erkundungsfahrten schon einige Zeit vorausgegangen sein müssten, zu einer nochmaligen Durchsicht der freilich sehr spärlichen Überlieferung, die vorläufig noch jeder ausreichenden Ergänzung durch archäologische Feststellungen entbehrt.

Nun ist es aber keineswegs zutreffend, dass die beiden Angaben über die frühe Gründung von Kyzikus und Trapezus in der Mitte des 8. Jhs., also etliche Zeit vor dem Kimmeriereinfall, völlig vereinzelt dastünden.¹ Denn in seinem Bericht über Sinope weiss Ps.-Skymn. 941 ff., dessen Wert als "leidlich frühe und ziemlich ergiebige Quelle"² gewiss nicht überschätzt werden soll, aber auch nicht unterschätzt werden darf,³ davon zu erzählen, dass hier eine milesische Kolonie, der übrigens ein thessalischer Ansiedlungsversuch vorangegangen sein soll, von den Kimmeriern zerstört wurde; nach dem Kimmeriersturm legten die Milesier hier dann eine neue Kolonie an. Da über das zeitliche Verhältnis der ersten milesischen Ansiedlung zum Kimmeriereinfall nichts gesagt ist und wir die Notiz jedenfalls nicht deshalb, weil sie die einzige Nachricht über eine ältere griechische Ansiedlung in Sinope ist, einfach verwerfen dürfen,⁴ so hindert nichts, zunächst diese Kolonisation ebenfalls in die Mitte des 8. Jhs. v. Chr. hinaufzurücken und mit den Festsetzungen in Kyzikus und Trapezus für gleichzeitig zu halten; ob schon damals Trapezus, was für die spätere Kolonie bezeugt ist, Tochterstadt von Sinope oder eine selbständige milesische Kolonie war, lässt sich nicht entscheiden, wiewohl erstere Annahme sehr wohl denkbar ist.

In diesem Zusammenhange muss aber auch noch die Gründungsgeschichte von Amisos Berücksichtigung finden, das nach

¹ Auf die Parallele mit Sinope weist auch Ruge, *RE*, III/A, p. 252 f., hin, ohne diese Nachricht positiv auszuwerten.

² Büchner, "Die Besiedlung des Pontus Euxinus durch die Milesier," *Gymn.-Progr. Kempten*, 1885, p. 58.

³ Dazu neigt Bilabel, *a.a.O.*, p. 30 f.

⁴ Wenn Bilabel, *a.a.O.*, p. 32, aus Herod. IV 12 einen Gegenbeweis gegen die Skymnosnachricht herauskonstruieren will, so interpretiert er offensichtlich zuviel in die Herodotstelle hinein.

Strabo XII 547 zuerst von Milesiern besiedelt worden ist. Leider ist der Text an dieser Stelle gestört; es wird, ohne dass der Zusammenhang eindeutig klar wäre, von einem kappadokischen Fürsten gesprochen und dann als dritte Epoche die Gewinnung der Stadt durch die Athener erwähnt, wobei ihr Name in Peiraieus umgeändert worden wäre. Mit diesen Angaben ist die Notiz bei Ps.-Skymn. 917 f. zusammenzuhalten, die leider auch verstümmelt ist. Hier wird nach der Lücke die Stadt eine Kolonie der Phokäer genannt, die vier Jahre vor dem pontischen Heraklea, also etwas vor 560,¹ angelegt worden sein soll. Der Lücke durch die vorgeschlagene Wendung von [Ἀθηναίων καὶ] Φωκαέων beikommen zu wollen, ist, wie schon Bilabel² festgestellt hat, völlig unmöglich, da die athenische Aktion natürlich wesentlich später angesetzt werden muss.³ Aber auch sein Vorschlag, [Μιλησίων καὶ] Φωκαέων zu lesen, befriedigt nicht ohne weiters, da erstens, wie er selbst hervorhebt, die Lücke viel grösser angenommen werden muss, und da zweitens ein Zusammenarbeiten von Milesiern und Phokäern⁴ angesichts der im Handelsleben selbstverständlichen Rivalität höchst unwahrscheinlich ist. Da die athenische Siedlung sicher nach der phokäischen anzusetzen ist, erstere bei Strabo als die dritte Epoche bezeichnet wird, die Phokäer bei Ps.-Skymnos sicher nicht als die ersten Ansiedler genannt waren, welche nach Strabos ausdrücklicher Angabe vielmehr die Milesier darstellten, so liegt es wohl nahe, die beiden Ueberlieferungstrümmer dahin zu vereinigen, dass wir in Amisos zunächst eine milesische Kolonie, an zweiter Stelle eine gegen die Mitte des 6. Jhs. angelegte phokäische anzusetzen haben, die sich der inzwischen offenbar kappadokisch gewordenen Stadt bemächtigte, und an dritter Stelle die athenische. Wenn aber diese Auslegung der beiden Stellen das Richtige trifft, dann ist es auch sehr wahrscheinlich, dass wir die milesische Kolonie in Amisos ziemlich früh anzusetzen haben. Denn als

¹ Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, II, p. 665.

² *A.a.O.*, p. 29.

³ Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, II/1², p. 199; A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 149.

⁴ Wenn Bilabel, *a.a.O.*, p. 29, Anm. 2, auf Naukratis als Parallele für ein gemeinsames Vorgehen hinweist, so ist das nicht stichhältig, da es sich hier doch nicht um eine gemeinsame Gründung, sondern um eine beide Teile betreffende Zuweisung des Faktoreigebietes von Seiten der ägyptischen Regierung handelt. Das zweite von ihm angeführte Beispiel Apollonia-Antheia ist aber auch nicht beweiskräftig, da es sich hier offenkundig um kein Nebeneinander, sondern um ein Nacheinander handelt.

Sinope nach dem Kimmeriereinfall milesische Kolonie wurde, sind von hier aus die verschiedenen Orte an der südlichen Pontusküste angelegt worden; wäre damals auch Amisos von Sinope aus milesisch geworden, so wäre das völlige Fehlen in den Listen der sinopeischen Tochterstädte ebenso auffallend, wie es bei Strabo eigentlich niemals als eine echt milesische Gründung hätte bezeichnet werden können; ausserdem wäre es aber nicht verständlich, warum die Milesier dann später diese Stadt den Phokäern freiwillig oder unfreiwillig hätten ausliefern sollen. Eher verständlich ist es hingegen, dass die Phokäer diese vermutlich wegen ihrer wenig günstigen Hafenverhältnisse von den Milesiern eben nicht wieder berücksichtigte Siedlung für sich besetzten. Fällt dann aber Amisos nicht in die milesische Kolonisationstätigkeit des 7. Jhs. v. Chr., so muss die bei Strabo bezeugte milesische Ansiedlung vor den Kimmeriereinfall gehören, also in die Zeit, in der auch die Gründung von Sinope, Trapezus und Kyzikus bezeugt ist.

So lässt es sich doch an Hand einer grösseren Anzahl von Siedlungen ¹ zumindest wahrscheinlich machen, dass Milet schon um die Mitte des 8. Jhs. v. Chr. einen grosszügigen Vorstoss in die Propontis und an die pontische Südküste unternommen hat. Diese Wahrscheinlichkeit erfährt eine nicht unbedeutende Erhöhung, wenn wir unter Berücksichtigung der Tatsache, dass auch die milesische Kolonisation des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. in starkem Masse von handelspolitischen Beweggründen geleitet war, uns vergegenwärtigen, dass eine ähnliche machtpolitische Situation, wie sie im 7. Jh. v. Chr. in Anatolien das Lyderreich darstellte, im 8. Jh. vom phrygischen Reich geschaffen wurde. Gestatten auch die altphrygischen Inschriften ² noch keine absolut sichere Datierung, so lässt doch ihr Verbreitungsgebiet einen Rückschluss auf die Ausdehnung des phrygischen Machtbereiches zu, der seinen Höhepunkt unter Midas II. (738-696) gewann; dadurch war aber die Bewegungsfreiheit auf den zentralanatolischen Handelsstrassen schwer bedroht und es wäre nur begreiflich, wenn die milesischen Handelsherren dieser Bedrohung schon zu Beginn der Entwicklung, welche vermutlich bereits vor Midas II. einsetzte, auszuweichen und den sich

¹ Übrigens gewinnt unter diesem Gesichtspunkt auch das Gründungsdatum für Astakos (712) und Parion (708), gegen Beloch, *a.a.O.*, eine erhöhte Bedeutung.

² Die übersichtlichste Zusammenstellung derzeit bei J. Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler*, pp. 125 ff.

bildenden Block im Nordosten zu umgehen versuchten. Und dass man wirklich in der Bildung der phrygischen Macht den Anlass für den ersten milesischen Vorstoss zu sehen hat, dafür scheint auch noch folgende Tatsache zu sprechen: Als durch den Einfall der Kimmerier zu Beginn des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. die Errungenschaften an der pontischen Küste verloren gingen, da blieben den kleinasiatischen Griechen die zentralanatolischen Strassen nach wie vor verschlossen und so entschloss man sich in Jonien jetzt zu einem Umgehungsversuch im Süden. Man wollte in Kilikien festen Fuss fassen, um hier den vorderasiatischen Handel gewissermassen abfangen zu können. Das führte dann zu dem Zusammenstoss mit Sanherib (705-681) im kilikischen Gebiet,¹ der mit einem Misserfolg der Griechen endete, so dass deren Interesse sich wieder den nördlichen Linien, die sie schon einmal aufgesucht hatten, zuwendete.

¹ Vgl. darüber J. Keil, *Mitt. d. Ver. klass. Philol. i. Wien*, III, 1926, pp. 15 ff.



The Khapotami Stele.

NIKOKLES KING OF PAPHOS

by T. B. MITFORD

KOUKLIA, the ancient Palaipaphos, is the site of Paphian Aphrodite's celebrated temple, which was the holy place of Cyprus. Some two miles S.E. of this village the river Khapotami strikes the sea; and there, in a shed immediately above the modern road, in the early spring of 1937, the following inscription was found:¹

A stele of grey sandstone, broken away at the bottom, its edges chipped. Height 1.13 m.; thickness 0.27; width across the shaft of the stele 0.36. At the top it has two horns, separated by a pronounced trough (Pl. V). Width across these horns 0.495.

The shaft carries a syllabic inscription of six lines,² damaged at both margins and weathered especially in the last two lines. Along the fracture at the bottom of the inscribed face are the possible traces of a lost seventh line. From the nature of this fracture and

¹ The land at the river's mouth is a *μετόχι* of St. Catharine's monastery in Sinai. It was long farmed by a venerable but passive monk. In 1936 my friend Father Daniel came from Sinai to take his place. The discovery of this inscription is due to his energetic renovation of the out-buildings on the property. It has now been conveyed to the local museum at Ktima.

² The actual state of the text as read from two squeezes, a hand-copy and photographs, is as follows: l. 1; *o*, only the right-hand end of the horizontal; *u*, right-hand arm rudimentary. l. 2; *ni*, right half of the horizontal and a suggestion of the shaft. l. 3; *o*, only tip of the horizontal; a scratch runs from the *i* across the *je*; the stone is flaked away above the *re*; *ta* has the horizontal stroke faint and incomplete. l. 4; *va*, upper and lower right-hand arms of cross, with the right-hand slanting stroke and a suggestion of the upper vertical; *ma*, the left-hand tips of the cross and the left-hand slanting stroke. l. 5; *ko*, the right-hand corner of the upper part of this character; *ni* has its lower slanting strokes damaged; *pa*, horizontals damaged; *po*, a scratch running from the bottom of l. 4 crosses this character and also the TE of l. 6, and the lower stroke is fragmentary. l. 6; *si*, on one squeeze there is a suggestion of the right-hand tip; *le*, the upper dash is not legible; *vo* is complete, but the stone is damaged to the right of the parallels; after *se*, the diacritical mark is not visible, but the spacing suggests that it was not omitted; KA, only the angle of this character is certain, the scratch already mentioned runs across it, and the uncertain markings on the stone are more in favour of *po*; the left half of the horizontal and the left slanting stroke of *te* are possible, but the stone is here badly scratched.

the shape of the stele it is unlikely that there has been any further

⊥ † † † † † †

o. pa. po. | pa. si. le. u.

⊥ † † † † †

ni. ko. ke. le. ve.

⊥ † † † † † †

o. i. je. re. u. se. | ta.

✱ † † † † † †

va. na. sa. se. | o. ti. ma.

✱ ✱ † † † † †

ko. i. ni. se. | to. pa. po.

⊥ † † † † †

si. le. vo. se. KA. TE.

loss. The first character in each of the six lines is fragmentary, the last broken away. The inscription reads from left to right.¹

The characters, which are well cut, are from 0.035 to 0.07 in height. They are of the Paphian class throughout.² The form of *se*, here used, viz. Ψ, with an isolated exception from Golgoi, is peculiar to Palaipaphos, and apparently does not occur even in the Rantidi inscriptions.

If this inscription be compared with two other inscriptions of the same Nikokles, from Hagia Moni³ and from Kouklia,⁴ it is clear that a verb of dedication, with or without an object, and the name of a deity are to be restored. It is probable that the stele was transported from Kouklia.⁵ The following text is therefore offered on the basis of this probability :

¹ As regularly in Paphian inscriptions. One exception only is known to me, Meister, *Sitzb. k. preuss. Ak. Wiss.*, 1911, Jan.-Juni, p. 639, no. 61 from Rantidi as correctly read by Sittig, *Z. vergl. Spr.*, LII, 1924, p. 202.

² Additions to Deecke's table in *SGDI* are : Ϝ, *le* ; Ψ, *se* (with the discontinuous upright) and Χ, *ko* (with the large rhomboid head). This last form is found in Hoffmann, *Die gr. Dialekte*, I, no. 102, at Hagia Moni, mentioned below. In the shorter text from the same locality, Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, no. 101, the head is likewise large, but rounded.

³ Deecke, *Bezzenb. Beitr.*, XI, p. 315 (Meister, *Die gr. Dialekte*, II, p. 179, 36a; Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, I, no. 102; Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, p. 32, no. 10; Sittig, *Z. vergl. Spr.*, LII, 1924, p. 199; SEG, VI, 820). Hogarth's text, which is less complete though more accurate than that of Sittig, is as follows : Ὁ Πάφω βασιλεὺς Νικοκλέφης | ὁ ἱερεὺς τᾶς Φανάσσης | ὁ βασιλεὺς Τιμάρχω ἐνὶς | τας ΚΙ · JO (?) · ΝΑ · U · (Ξ) · ΝΕ · Α · ΣΕ · | κατέστασε τῇ θεῷ τῇ Ἥρᾳ.

⁴ Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, no. 105, now in Constantinople : Ὁ Πάφω βασιλεὺς Νικοκλέφης ὁ ἱερεὺς τᾶς Φανάσσης, | ὁ βασιλεὺς Τιμάρχω ἐνὶς, κατέστασε τῇ θεῷ.

⁵ In the Rantidi forest, not far from where the present inscription came to light, Zahn excavated in 1910 a sanctuary of Apollo and Aphrodite. Meister has published over a

ὁ Πάφω βασιλεὺς[s] | Νικοκλέης[s], | ὁ ἱερεὺς τῆς[s] | Φανάσ(σ)ας,
5 ὁ Τιμά[ρ]χω ἱνις τῷ Πάφω [βα]σιλῆϝος, κατε[σ]τασε τῇ θεῷ.

"Nikokles, king of Paphos, priest of Vanassa,¹ son of Timarchos, king of Paphos, erected (this stele) to the goddess."

The inscription belongs to an interesting series in which Nikokles son of Timarchos appears as king and priest of Aphrodite.² That he is that Nikokles who in 321 made terms with Ptolemy Soter and who built the walls of New Paphos,³ though probable, has been questioned (cf. F. Stähelin, *RE*, I, xvii (1936), 351, Nikokles 3). For ἱνις, confined in epigraphy to these inscriptions of Nikokles, cf. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, I, p. 285. ὁ Τιμά[ρ]χω ἱνις τῷ Πάφω [βα]σιλῆϝος: the phrase elsewhere used is ὁ βασιλῆϝος Τιμάρχω ἱνις.⁴ It would seem that we have here an echo of the Phoenician royal genealogy.⁵

For the shape of this stele, I can offer no convincing explanation.⁶ Since it has doubtless a religious significance, it may conceivably be a remote derivative from the Minoan "Horns of Consecration." The well-known inscription of Nikokles at Hagia Moni is cut on a stone which has a similar trough, without, however, the distinctive horns.⁷

hundred syllabic texts which were there discovered, *Sitzb. k. preuss. Ak. Wiss., loc. cit.*, pp. 630-650. Of these it is true one, p. 638, no. 60, is dedicated τῇ θεῇ τῇ Φα[νάσσῃ]; but the sanctuary was rustic, the objects from it for the most part uncouth in the extreme. A royal monument such as the present is more likely to have been erected at Palaipaphos, where the king himself was high priest.

¹ In syllabic inscriptions from Kouklia the goddess is invariably worshipped as Vanassa, the Lady, cf. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, nos. 103, 104, 105, 107 and 110. Dedications, however, to the Paphian or to Paphian Aphrodite are found at Kyrenia, Kythrea, and perhaps Golgoi.

² Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, nos. 101 and 102, both immured into the church of the monastery of Hagia Moni near Chrysorroiyatissa; and 105 given by Hoffmann as from Kouklia.

³ *JHS*, IX, 1888, p. 239, no. 46, now in the British Museum, but not in the Catalogue of Inscriptions.

⁴ Cf. also the "heterographic" inscription from Soloi, Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, no. 68.

⁵ Cf. the Phoenician inscription from Kition, Berger, *CRAI*, 1887, pp. 203 sq.: "Baal-melek, king of Kition and Idalion, son of king Azbaal, king of Kition and Idalion. . . ." Further, Berger, *Rev. d'Ass.*, III, 1894, pp. 69 sq. from Larnaca tis Lapithou: "Jatanbaal, lord of the land, son of Gerostratos, lord of the land."

⁶ Mr. F. N. Pryce was kind enough to suggest to me tentatively a derivation from the archaic Cypriot statuette with the uplifted hands (e.g. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, die Bibel und Homer*, II, Plate LI, 6; *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, Plates, I, LXVIII, 6; II, CCXXXVI, 1). But, as Mr. Pryce himself observed, there is no vestige of the head.

⁷ Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, I, no. 102, mentioned above. The stone is 1.67 m. in length; 0.64 in width. The trough at its top is 0.48 in diameter and 0.23 in depth.

EARLY HISTORY OF PROVINCE GALATIA¹

by WILLIAM MITCHELL RAMSAY

I. ERA. The date is placed by general consent and apparently by Dio Cassius, LIII, 26, 3, in 25 B.C. as the immediate consequence of the death of Amyntas, king of Galatia and a large territory in central and south Asia Minor. He struck silver coins at Side,² and copper at Kremna, his only notable conquest in Pisidia. Dio, *l.c.*, mentions "the lands of Pamphylia assigned to Amyntas," implying that other lands there were not assigned to him. Access to a harbour was necessary for his proposed conquest of Taurus; Side and the way to it through Cilicia Tracheia were given him.

Dio on early Galatia has been misinterpreted: he differs from Strabo and is right. In 25 B.C. he briefly mentions the war of Varro (successful) against the Salassi; of Augustus (unsuccessful) against Astures and Cantabri, and his illness in Tarraco; the failure of Antistius his successor; the final success of Carisius; the settlement of his veterans in Colonia Augusta Emerita (Merida); the rewards of the still active soldiers; the granting to Juba of parts of Gaetulia (resumed from LI, 15, 6, 30 B.C.) along with the lands of Bokkhos and of Bogud; after Amyntas died (resumed from LI, 2, 1, 31 B.C.) Augustus did not give his realm to his sons, but brought it into the Empire, and thus Galatia with Lykaonia (but no part of Pamphylia) received a Roman governor; Vinucius's success against the Celts. No one has thought that all these events though noted annalistically in 25 could happen within one year. Dio regarded those old wars as monotonous, needing no

¹ I began on too large a scale, trying to make the article worthy of the scholar whom we write to honour; and have now excluded several illustrative inscriptions and proofs of disputed points. These are printed in my *Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor*, to which I must refer. I regret that after careful study I got little help from an article in *Klio*, 1934, p. 129 f.; Mr. Syme's method of reasoning differs from mine; also his interpretation of Dio. I quote him where he seems to me right.

The genuineness of his gold coins is disputed, and we set them aside; the silver and copper are accepted by all numismatists.

detailed notice, and occasionally he sums up under one year a great many wars (as here and in A.D. 6, LV, 28, 26).¹

One point is important: Amyntas failed; neither Pisidia nor Isaurika, nor any part of the great Taurus plateau except Cremna was included in the province at first, a direct contradiction of Strabo, who twice says that all the realm of Amyntas was included in the new province. Strabo speaks about the province after the war of Quirinius.² Dio is accurate. Dio's statement about Pamphylian lands and Side would be discredited, if it were not confirmed by coins. That Augustus took a Greek city from its own special province and placed it under a barbarian king, is contrary to his whole policy and practice.

The explanation evidently must be that a special plan was arranged to conquer the Taurus tribes, Pisidae, Isauri, Homanades, etc., by a concerted attack from north and south. Amyntas had no regular drilled army, no troops that could be used by Rome like the legions of Deiotaros. He needed for this attack, munitions, which are costly, and a harbour where they could be landed; they were doubtless to be supplied by Roman negotiators. This attack never came off: Amyntas was killed. After an interregnum of five years, his kingdom was made a Roman province (p. 203).

Augustus might have made the kingdom a personal property (like Egypt) administered by a procurator eques,³ or entrusted it again to a king (or kings). To make it a province of the Empire was a serious matter,⁴ and Augustus did not take such a step without careful enquiry. Dessau first wrote to me suggesting that 25 B.C. was a less probable date than 20 B.C., when Augustus (whose work was so permanent because always unhurried) studied and regulated the affairs of the East in Samos (21-19 B.C., Dio, LIV, 7, 4 to 9, 7). At one time I thought that a head of Augustus mourning proved the colonia and the province to be older than 23 (JHS, 1930, p. 263),⁵

¹ See below, p. 205.

² Even in that case not correctly.

³ Certain properties, which seemed personal to Amyntas, e.g. his slaves and flocks and royal dues at Iconium, Laodicea, etc., Augustus took over; but those in tribal Galatia were left to Amyntas's son, Pylaimenes, who lived in princely state at Ancyra, at least as late as A.D. 23.

⁴ It must be worthy, i.e. in an orderly condition, to be a province of the Empire, as Strabo explains.

⁵ That discovery communicated by letter made Dessau finally decide for era 25 B.C., *Gesch.*, II, 612.

but my reasoning was false, for the Synagogue (in which it was found) was as old as the Greek city, *c.* 280 B.C. ; the Jews foresaw the trend of events, and were his partisans before they became his subjects. The colonia and the province were created together (Dessau, *Gesch.*, II, 612).

Coins are the best, often the only, authority for eras. For a Galatic era they fail, except one coin of Tavium (not observed by Kubitschek in *RE*, *s.v.* Aera 41).

A coin of Tavium was struck under M. Aurê. Antoninus K(aisar) Caracalla : rev. Σε. Τρο. Ταουιανῶν ἔτ. CHI (218). If the era began from 25 B.C., 218 would mean A.D. 193, when Caracalla was still named Septimius Bassianus. In 196 his name was changed to M. Aurelius Antoninus ; the coin must have been struck later. In 198 Caracalla was made Augustus ; therefore this coin with title K(aisar) was struck before that was known in Tavium. The year 197 is impossible, for that would make the era 21 B.C. ; ¹ now Galatia was organized by Lollius Paullinus, ² who as consul in 21 was engaged in Rome. The inference is that the coin was struck in 198, before the news that Caracalla was Augustus reached Tavium. When the news came, Tavium immediately struck coins reading ANTONINOC AYTOYC, with the title cut short in this odd style. The provincial era began in 20 B.C. ; the organization was entrusted to Paullinus immediately after his consulate. The general form was indicated by Augustus ; the details were worked out by a consular. Though the province was to be praetorian, the first governor needed higher powers.

A parallel case to Galatia was Armenia. Corbulo fought the Armenian war for twelve years, and returned to the West in 67 ; but it was not till 72 ³ that Armenia Minor was incorporated in the province Galatia-Cappadocia : the evidence is in coins (Th. Reinach in *Rev. Ét. Anc.*, 1914, p. 133 f. ; Pick, *ibid.*, 1914, p. 283 f. ; Brandis in *RE*, Suppl. I, 138 ; also Cumont quoted by him).⁴

The province did not include the whole Regnum Amyntae :

¹ I consulted Mr. E. S. G. Robinson, who confirmed the coin, but expressed doubt about the era 25 B.C.

² Cognomen *v.* Liebenam, *Legaten*, p. 166 ; Nipperdey, Roulez, Perrot, quoted by him ; name Paullinus was used in province.

³ The Asian year beginning Sept. 23, A.D. 72.

⁴ Cumont, *Rev. de l'Instr. publ. en Belge*, 1900, livr. 6.

the Amyntian lands (χωρία) in Pamphylia were restored to their separate ¹ governmental district (provincia) and Cilicia Tracheia was given to Archelaos, king of Cappadocia, as part of the general settlement.² Seleukeia was not given to Amyntas with the rest of Tracheia; it remained philo-Roman (Strabo 671) and struck imperial coins.³ Strabo twice says that all the Regnum Amyntae was included in the province; but the expression is loose and inaccurate; compare the exaggeration in XIV, 5, 7 (671), about the view from Lycian Olympos, or the vague statement in XIII, 4, 13 (629) which led me to place the Killanian plain far to the west of its true position (as demonstrated by Calder, *AJA*, xxxvi, 1932, p. 453 f.).⁴

There was nothing unusual in sending a consular to organize a praetorian province; that was the custom, as higher powers were needed in the process.

2. MILITARY EQUIPMENT. No legions were stationed in the province. When Corbulo went to conduct the Armenian war in 54 *extra ordinem* as consular legatus of Galatia and Cappadocia, he got legions from Syria and Europe, but could only order a special (compulsory) levy from his own two provinces. No legion was stationed in Cappadocia till 72. A cohors Bracar-Augustana ⁵ was stationed near Col. Archelais by Claudius at Tetrapiyrgia; also cohors Hispanorum near Col. Germa by Domitian at Spania-Justinianopolis (Sivri Hissar).⁶

Augustus tried to cut down the number of legions; perhaps he foresaw the danger of an army too powerful. He left only twenty-five in that vast Empire.⁷ Galatia was not exposed in 20 B.C. The Parthi were quiet. The province was protected by vassal kingdoms

¹ ἴδιος, individual, special (opposed to general), is typical Greek usage, e.g. Herod., IV, 18, ἕκτος ἴδιον καὶ οὐδαμῶς Σκυθικόν. Pamphylia was procuratorial like Egypt (*BCH*, 1883, p. 259).

² Dio, LIV, 9, 2, can be quoted.

³ Imperial coins are numerous after Hadrian. In A.D. 72 it was part of Cilicia. Mionnet records a coin of Tiberius, but his authority is doubtful.

⁴ Strabo's work contains statements open to criticism; sometimes he contradicts his own statements; he was probably engaged in a revision of his work when he died.

⁵ Argustana error for Augustana (corr. Forbiger, *Alte Geogr.*, p. 305).

⁶ Proof of the statements in this sentence must be postponed.

⁷ As in A.D. 23 under Tiberius. Under Trajan there were thirty, under Caracalla thirty-three (Ritterling).

on N.E., E., and S.E. ; only on the south it was open to raids of the Taurus tribes.¹ Dio, LV, 28, 2 f., sketches the age-long situation there.

The Emperor tried the experiment of a military colonia in Galatia. Domaszewski says that the coloniae of the first century were all effective ; "da der Besatzungsdienst der Veteranen in den Militärcolonien ein effectiver gewesen ist." Those colonies were an always ready force. The veterans were not superannuated, but *immunes*, experienced and disciplined, who received lands on a tenure of military service, but were free from the heavier duties of a soldier. The duoviri of the coloniae were ex officio commanders of the coloni on service (as the consuls were of old in Rome). The coloni were organized in alae ; and every duumvir got equestrian rank as praefectus alae.²

The first coloni must have suffered much in the wars of 20-8 B.C. In later history few original coloni are mentioned, mainly incolae who won civitas and magistracy and equestrian rank by service. Raids from Taurus kept the soldiers busy ; life was comfortless for those exiles. The town was practically a camp ; many died ; children were few. After 8 B.C. the pressure relaxed ; active warfare ceased, though training seems to have continued (probably till A.D. 70) ; and the duoviri were ex officio always equites. The town became a busy city of trade and wealth ; coinage was abundant. Officially the colonia used Latin till Claudius II ; but under Diocletian it was made metropolis and ceased to be a colonia. Coloni proudly used Latin, but trade used Greek. St. Paul heard only Greek in the streets.

Augustus and the early emperors trusted defence of Anatolia to coloniae, auxiliaries, some legionary soldiers in personal attendance on the commanders of provinces, and in the last resort to the Syrian legions. Even after there ceased to be any protecting client kingdoms like Cappadocia on the east, no legions were stationed in Galatia (as Corbulo found), though it presented a wide flank open to the east. The urgent duty of defence was neglected.

¹ Northern and all Western Taurus submitted in 8 B.C. as far as the Lycian frontier. In Southern Taurus, Cilicia Tracheia (called Isauria after 138) was given to Archelaos in 20 B.C. except Seleukeia.

² *Rh. Mus.*, N.F., XLVIII, p. 345. He quotes in a note, *Jos., Ant.*, XVII, 10, 9 ; *BJ*, II, 5, 1 ; *Lex. Col. Genetiv.*, 5, 2 sq. and 3, 23 sq.

Tiberius (as has often been remarked) allowed the Augustan system to remain practically unmodified. Claudius saw the need, and created colonia Archelais to protect the eastern frontier. The subject kingdom of Cilicia Tracheia needed protection, and received it twice from Syria. The Syrian legions were deliberately made the only guard for Cappadocia in A.D. 17, which was constantly open to barbarian attack. The Empire was distracted, till Vespasian came to power with his Eastern experience. He placed probably two ¹ legions in Cappadocia in 72; and two legions guarded Cappadocia from Trajan onwards.

3. DEA JULIA AUGUSTA. Suetonius, Seneca, Dion, mention that Claudius consecrated his grandmother, Livia Drusilla,² named Julia Augusta in the will of Augustus; this was his first act after the succession was settled in the Senate. That the consecration was not merely nominal is proved by the epitaph of the first priestess of the new goddess at Colonia Caesarea (found there in 1927). The text is much worn (except ll. 6-9).

[D. ? M. ?]
 [Caristaniae Fronti]-
 nae I]uliae sa[cer-
 d]o[ti] deae Iu]liae
 Au]gustae ma[ndatu
 4 T. Vo]lumni Varro[nis
 II]vir. quaest. III
 p]ontif. praef. coh.
 . C.R.] Italic. trib. mil.
 8 I]eg. VII Claudiae
 piae fidelis
 [CC ? DD ?]

Several other restorations were tried and found open to serious objections. This illumines the history of the colonia.

The stone is a good block of the local limestone, 10 ft. up in the wall of a house at the right of a window protected by wire netting,³ opening on a room belonging to the women. Expulsion was inevitable sooner or later; and immediate work was necessary.

¹ Suet. *Vesp.* 8. Conjecture of Ritterling, XVI Flavia.

² She died in A.D. 29, aged 86.

³ The house is new built in European style.

On a ladder given by the owner, work could not be forbidden, and I stood fast on it for three hours till light failed. Next morning I returned, hoping to make a squeeze. The lord of the mansion (*νοικοκύρης*) gave the ladder with a quaint smile. Ascending, I found that the stone was covered with a layer of mortar. Then I understood that smile.

In copying l. 2, I had in mind the name [Clau]diae Iu[liae], but the letter after D seemed in some lights to be Γ, not I, and *deae* did not occur to me till night. In l. 7, the faint traces are consistent with C.R. ; VOL(untariorum) was not on the stone. Civium Romanorum was the title of the cohorts.

The surface was smashed above l. 1 and below l. 9 ; the limits of the stone could be seen in the wall. There was room for one or two lines below l. 9, and for three or four at top. The left side was broken more than the right in adjusting the stone to the wooden window frame. The upper lines were faint and worn. DOQ were very broad ; ERL comparatively narrow.

The restoration depends on the situation in the colonia and the Empire. The date is therefore important. The lettering is post-Augustan, and earlier than Domitian. Legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis was originally VII simply ; Claudius gave those titles in 43. The priestess was nominated in 41, and her epitaph was engraved probably about 65-75. The name colonia Caesarea was abandoned, and colonia Antiochea came into use under Vespasian. She was probably born about 4 B.C. (as we shall see).

To do honour to the cult of the new *Julium sidus*, the priestess was selected from the noblest family of the colonia, daughter of C. Caristianus Fronto Caesianus Julius, who was quite young as leader and magistrate of the colonia in 11-8 B.C. The name Caesianus was adoptive and did not last ; Julius was a *signum* conferred by Augustus and would assuredly be retained by the daughter. The name Julius is not known in the colonia at that time, except in this family.

[T.] Volumnius Varro, incola at Col. Caesarea, was a soldier in a cohort or ala, and thus acquired *civitas*. The praenomen occurs (Keil-Knoll 77) at Vasada ; T. Volumnius T. F. Vel(ina), son of a soldier at this time. Both got their nomen from the same Roman officer. The soldier of Vasada had no cognomen, which indicates

early date.¹ Volumnius fought his way from the ranks (like P. Anicius Maximus, *CIL*, III, 6809, who was praefectus Ahenobarbi probably in 40), became equestrian as duumvir, and served two equestrian militiae after 41. Caligata militia was, as usual, omitted. As duumvir and pontifex he nominated Julia Caristania priestess of Julia Augusta.²

With T. Volumnius Varro, compare the following P. Volumnius Rufus at a village near Derbe in Galatia, named Armasun (Sterrett, *WE*, 44 ; R. 1901).

Πόπλιος Οὐολούμνιος	μ]νία Γουλαθει ταῖς
Ροῦφος Οὐολουμνία	θυ]γατρ[άσιν
Καματα καὶ Οὐολου-	

Armasun is close to Almasen, both originally one large village, which depopulation in Turkey has made into two : the names, slightly differentiated, are ancient, connected with the god Harma (Greek Ἑρμῆς ?), often occurring in compound names in Cilicia Tracheia.

Rufus was son or grandson of a soldier, who gained civitas at missio for himself and wife. Women have Roman and native name (as commonly) : Γουλαθει is fem. of Γουλλας or Γουλλας.

Probably nothing is lost except μν. χ. This family at Derbe was a generation (or two) later than Varro ; but the style seems earlier than 100. Some officer gave the name Volumnius to three soldiers about A.D. 20.

A titulus at col. Caes. Antiochea can now be in part restored (Sterrett, *WE*, 355 ; R. 1912 with Anderson ; R. 1925 ; *CIL*, III, 6846) : incomplete r. and l.

T. Volumnius Ser.]Varro parietem e[xedra? et . . . et]
mutulos ab imo exstruxit.

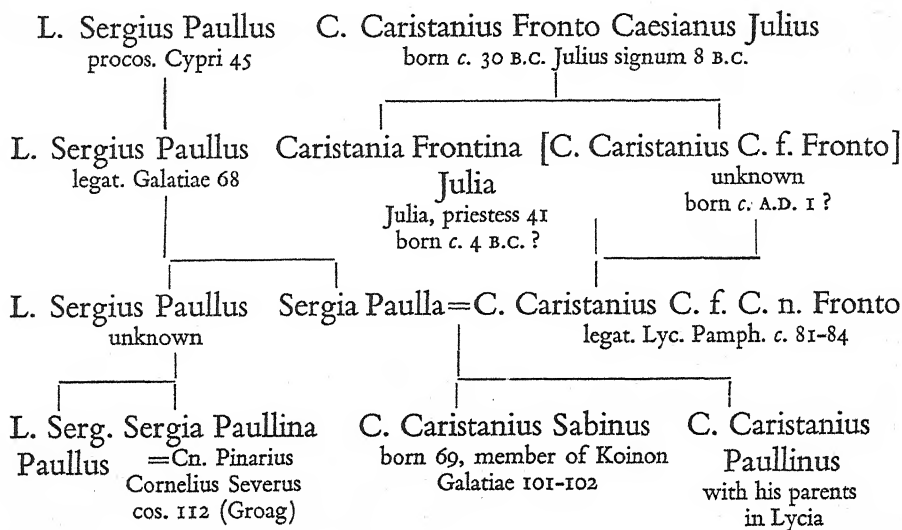
This is the inscription on the cornice of the exedra over his grave (built in his lifetime) : mutulos is certain on the stone.

¹ Compare mandatu praetoris, Suet., *Jul.*, 7 ; mandatu parentum at the colonia c. A.D. 50. Mandatu principis was a phrase used occasionally under the Empire ; as when the procurator of Asia was ordered to undertake the extraordinary duty (Domasz., p. 169) of governing Asia vice defuncti proconsulis, *CIL*, V, 875.

² Ahenobarbus was made honorary duumvir for A.D. 40 and nominated Anicius as his praefectus, who entered office on Jan. 1, A.D. 40 ; Ahenobarbus died in 40.

New cives were placed in tribus Sergia at Antiochea, in Velina at Vasada.¹

The Caristanii lived through an important period of history, and their stemma is chronologically important. This new inscription restores it more fully than was possible for Cheesman in *JRS*, 1913, who did all that could be done then.



The generations of Caristanii are attested by numerous inscriptions.

4. EARLY LEGATI. (a) M. Cusinius Rufus. Fragment at col. Caes. Antiochea (R, 1925), copied also in 1920, *Ann. Scuol. Aten.*, III, p. 56 (not restored): heading of a cursus honorum senatorius.

m · cVSINIO 15 cm. high
m · f. VEL · RVFO 12.5 cm.

This Cusinius is known also from an inscription of Tusculum (*CIL*, XIV, 2604) as aedilis pl., praefectus aerario (between 27 and 23 B.C.), praetor. The large letters suit a legatus; there was only one official of senatorial rank in the province. The cursus honorum continued on another stone beneath, obviously in a wall. Cusinius, probably the father, held some senatorial post in prov. Asia. *Κουσίπιος*, mentioned on Ephesian coins of Head's class ending c. 27 B.C.? (nominal date), derived his name from this

¹ Velina at Vasada (Ouasada, Oasada *Ova-sada* cf. *Σαδα-Μα*) can now be added to Kubitschek's lists.

Roman (others *c.* 50-54, see *BM Cat.*, p. 73; Head, *Coinage Eph.*, p. 77). The name passed into the nomenclature of Galatia as [Κουσ]ίνας, a provincial noble, *c.* A.D. 23 (p. 221).

(b) Cornutus (Arruntius) Aquila legatus, 6 B.C., known only from miliaria of Viae Sebastai and from a dedication to his son M. Arruntius M.f. (*JRS*, 1916, p. 97; Groag in *PIR*², A1137).

(c) L. Calpurnius (Piso?) Frugi leg. praetorius, *c.* A.D. 13-15, occurs in several tituli; his legatio has been doubted or misplaced. His career (pre-consular) is recited at Laodicea of Lycaonia (*JHS*, 1918, p. 174).¹ Various provincial families took Roman name or cognomen from him (enumerated in *Soc. Bas.*). His grateful friend, C. Julius Calpurnius (Oaris?),² did not explain that he was legatus, a fact obvious to all.³ His date is proved by a fragment at Antiochea Col. Caesarea (Calder, *JRS*, 1912, p. 101, improved by him, *ibid.*, 1916, p. 134); to which we add that it is the official expression of loyalty to the new Emperor and Empress, dedicated by the legatus on a visit (cost of monument paid by the colonia). Tiberius omits sometimes the number of his trib. pot.

[Tiberio Caesari]	[Juliae Augustae]
[D. Aug. filio Augusto]	[D. Augusti uxori]
p]ontif[ci maximo	[Tiberi Caesaris]
t]ribuniciae potes-	[Augusti matri]
t]atis, cos.[II, imp. VI.]	

L]CALPV[RNIVS · PISO · FRVGI]

C. Julius Calpurnius Oaris received civitas and name from Augustus and Calpurnius, governor of the province. He was thus qualified to be archiereus of the Emperors (*Social Basis*, Sect. II, p. 6 with *Add.* and Sect. IV, j).⁴ Two other inscriptions must be omitted here.

¹ It can be restored L. Calp. L.f. Frugi, or L. Calp. Piso Frugi. We prefer the latter. He was perhaps son of L. Calp. Piso Frugi, cos. 15 B.C., praef. urbi 15-27.

² Name from the Emperor and the legatus (*Social Basis*, Sect. II). *Oapis* = *Oapios*.

³ Compare *CIL*, III, 6817. He was legatus of procos. Macedoniae, later procos. Macedoniae, whence he came as legatus to Galatia.

⁴ The imperial names were perhaps in accusative: the formulae are not verbally certain. Dr. E. Groag suggests an impossible restoration in *PIR*², which among other faults takes no account of the large letters in the name of Frugi.

(d) M. Ostorius Scapula was restored doubtfully in a fragment at Colonia Caesarea (*JRS*, 1924, p. 195). This restoration can now be confirmed: Ti. Claudius Scapula member of the Koinon in 101, was son of a provincial who got civitas at the accession of Nero in 54, taking his Roman name from Emperor and legatus (on the principle stated in *Social Basis*, Sect. II). If the father was 18 in 54, the heir was born c. 66, and was 35 years old in 101.

(e) L. Sergius Paullus, whose career was engraved at Colonia Caesarea, married his daughter, Sergia Paulla, to the third Caristianus in 68; and their son, born in 69, was named after Vespasian's brother Sabinus (killed in 69). The Sergii Paulli were interested in scientific research, and doubtless friends of Seneca and hostile to Nero.

(f) Q. Petronius Umb[er], legatus of Nero, has been made legatus of Augustus, through incorrect restoration of inscriptions approved by Mommsen, Heberdey and Cagnat (see *Social Basis*).

(g) Several other legati or iuridici are known by name, but no date can be assigned, e.g. Superstes perhaps about 72 before Pompeius Collega, after (Nonius) Calpurnius Asprenas. (T.) Flavius Souperstes (!) at Ancyra was named after Vespasian and the legatus (*IGR*, 208).¹ One of the first pair of duoviri at Colonia Iconiensium (138 A.D.) was M. Ulpus Pomponius Superstes.

(h) P. Alfius Maximus is placed by Groag (*PIR*², A 534) under Pius or Commodus or Caracalla. His true date is 101-102.

5. THE WAR FOR TAURUS has been much misunderstood, mainly because of an erroneous idea that Taurus is a mountain ridge.² Taurus is an elevated plateau generally 6000 to 8000 ft. above sea level, varying from 30 to 70 miles N. to S., much broken by river action; there are several lofty ridges in Taurus, e.g. Dîpdavras N. to S. and Sparta-Dagh E. to W.;³ towards the west Taurus contains several fertile valleys. There was considerable population,

¹ Text in *CIG* very bad: read Ἀγ. Τ. | (Μ. ?) Παπείριον | Ἀλέξανδρον | ἀρχιερέα καὶ τὸ β' πρῶτον | ἄρχοντα, ΤΘ | εἰρηνάρχην τῆς μητροπόλεως Ἀγκύρας | καὶ διὰ βίου ἱερέα τοῦ Διονύσου, φυλὴ ε' Δ|ιαγεζων φυλαρχοῦντος Οὐαλερίου Τειμολάου | ἐπιμελουμένων | Φλ. Σουπέρστου καὶ | Οὐαλερίου Ἀν(εμ)νάτου. Date c. 100-110.

² We speak of Taurus west of Cappadocia. Strabo rightly describes it as extending east to merge in the mass of Central Asia.

³ I crossed Taurus eleven times, Sparta Dagħ and Dîpdavras each once. Dipoiras (Kiepert) is a form, altered to give meaning in Turkish (poiras, βορέας, north). In 1890, I crossed Taurus plateau four times N. to S. and Dîpdavras once W. to E.

all robbers preying on the Phrygians of the central plateau, never conquered till 8 B.C.

That war of centuries is described in a sentence by Dio Cassius (much misunderstood), LV, 28, 2 f. (under A.D. 6) ; he has in mind only the Roman period, but his words are true of all previous time.

One cannot understand a war without as careful study of the terrain as the general in command must make at the outset. The Homanadensian War was the first step in the great war for Taurus, but was so brilliantly conducted that all resistance collapsed. The armies were small, but the results were great in territory and enormous in prestige.

Quirinius, cos. 12 B.C., arranged in Rome with Augustus¹ the general plan, and in 11 he studied the terrain, the forces available, the difficulties, before he moved a man.¹ The only legions were in Syria, the war must be fought with a truly Roman army, i.e. legionary. Quirinius had full command in Syria for a foreign war. Similarly, Corbulo was supreme commander in A.D. 54 (consular) of Galatia and Cappadocia for the Armenian war. In both cases the ordinary government of the provinces must continue, while the supreme governor was absent in extra-provincial war. The ordinary governor of Galatia was praetorian, of Cappadocia an eques who was procurator ; but the governor of Syria must be consular as he had control of legions. In Galatia the governors were M. Ostorius Scapula, P. Rutilius Gallicus, L. Sergius Paullus, all praetorii.²

As to Syria, the point is unnoticed (except slightly by Mommsen) : Quirinius was governor for the purposes of the war. No one asks who was managing Syria, that critical province ; was a substitute appointed by him ? or was another legatus with full authority and rank chosen by Augustus to report direct to the Emperor ? The latter alone is consistent with the imperial system : M. Titius, as experienced and able legatus, was chosen,³ as arranged

¹ This is not a hypothesis, but a statement of elementary principles. Augustus stated the task : the general studied the means.

² Probably another between Gallicus and Paullus. Ostorius was certainly legatus in 54 ; Paullus in 67-68.

³ Miss L. R. Taylor, *JRS*, 1936, has made out a good case for Titius as twice legatus Syriae. To be twice legatus Syriae was rare, but not extra ordinem : few rose so high twice. Her case for his orn. tri. is weak. He conquered no new territory for Rome.

with Augustus in Rome. In 8 B.C., Sentius Saturninus is also attested. Both were consulares.

It is no mere hypothesis that Augustus and Quirinius in 12-11 B.C. acted thus : it is what a careful Emperor and a cautious Commander must do. Augustus picked out Quirinius, a man of very humble origin ; made him consul, because he had shown the ability to compel success in a novel kind of African war ; instructed him as to the general conditions of the commission. Quirinius studied the local conditions very carefully.¹ Success meant wealth and rank ; failure in this meant failure in life. He was evidently about 50, as he died a rich old man in A.D. 21. Augustus felt anxious about the result ; his policy in creating Galatia a province was at stake ; colonia Caesarea Antiochea had not been strong enough to pacify the frontier, which was less safe in 12 B.C. than it had been in 20.

We know from the *Acta Triumphalia* (doubtless used as a source by Pliny and Tacitus) how the war was envisaged at Rome. The Homanades adjoined Syria and its legions : Cilicia was part of prov. Syria. To neglect the defence of Syria in a war outside of Syria would be the height of insanity ; yet the general who was to fight that war must command the Syrian forces. Strabo, 569, calls the Homanades ² Cilicians ³ loosely, as Strabo sometimes speaks vaguely ; but he shows the conceptions entertained in Rome. The war must be fought geographically from the north, not direct from Cilicia ; Rome and Augustus thought it was a Cilician war at a crisis in history ; some moderns think it was a small Galatian frontier incident.

There seems little doubt that Quirinius had forced his way up from caligatus to consul by sheer ability. Tacitus means that by *domus obscurissima* : *militia caligata* was not mentioned in such cases.

Three general conditions governed the conduct of the war ;

¹ He had no maps to study, and must depend on his own eyes and those of observers. One glance at Kestel-Ouasada, if he got so far as to see the northern frontier of the Homanades, would show him the difficulties in attacking those castella.

² Tacitus and Strabo use Homanades (grecizing) : Pliny (i.e. *Acta Tr.*) uses Homanades (Anatolian).

³ Per Ciliciam Tac., *διέφθειραν αὐτὸν οἱ Κίλικες ἐμβαλόντα εἰς τοὺς Ὁμοναδεῖς* Str. who takes Cilicians as the genus and Homanadeis as species. This explains per Ciliciam in Tac. ; Mommsen's conjectural *super* is wrong textually, but right in fact and geographically. *Acta Tri.* presumably had per.

(a) Augustus was sparing of his legions ; (b) Quirinius must have forces sufficient to make victory sure, yet must not denude the Syrian defence at any point. Moreover, the terrain, as he found on the spot, did not afford space for the tactical movements of a large army. Probably 10,000 or 12,000 was the total, legionaries and auxiliaries (including the Antiochian *alae*).

(c) The tribes were potential citizens of the Empire. The aim must be to reclaim them (*parcere subiectis*) as far as was consistent with the principle to annihilate resistance (*debellare superbos*).

Quirinius drafted about 5000¹ legionaries from Syria, not as *vexillarii* under a *praepositus*, but men of his Syrian command, drilling them so as to make them equivalent to a full legion. He began by attacking the Homanades, the hardest to reduce (*ἀλληπτοτάτους*, Str., 569) of all the Taurus tribes with a large territory and 24,000 fighting men (counting 500 to a *castellum*, 1000 to *Homana* and to *Dalisandos*).² When resistance collapsed, there remained 4000 men, i.e. eight *castella*. Isaurica and Cilicia Tracheia (Isauria) observed and learned.

The slow, steady relentless progress of the Romans struck lasting terror into the other tribes of Taurus ; they submitted, and never tried to break the wall of roads and fortresses which enabled the Romans to crush any resisting tribe ; they soon found that life under Roman discipline was better than brigandage in freedom, and much more lucrative. The Pisidian age-long terror was ended.

Dio, LV, 28, 3, sums up a long and (to him) monotonous process—a passage sorely misunderstood—thus : “the Isauri beginning from robber raids proceeded to the dire extreme of war, until they were completely subdued.” To Dio Isauri meant “tribes of Taurus :” this loose use of Isauri was extended later as far east as Kokusos Guksun, where “Isauri” were raiding c. A.D. 400. Quirinius cowed the tribes of Isaurica ; he did not touch Tracheia, the land of king Archelaos. One Tracheiotic tribe revolted in A.D. 36 and 52 : to the tribes, census meant taxation

¹ On the number compare the frontier war of A.D. 36, which was modelled on Quirinius, p. 216.

² Perhaps *Dalisandos* was then only a *castellum*. Pliny does not mention it : it became a city with coinage and a later bishopric.

and military service. Dio disclaims all intention of describing these events more minutely ; details were valueless and monotonous. Even the great marches to the Vistula and Elbe are mentioned here in ten words. Dynastic history interested Dio : long wars were tedious.

Mommsen and Mr. Syme alone saw that Quirinius' war meant the conquest of the Taurus plateau (revealed by the *Viae Sebastai*). After the first miliarium of those *Viae* was found and estimated, Mommsen wrote to me that his treatment of the war must be rewritten.¹ This revision I hoped to see, but greater tasks filled the rest of his life.

Mr. Syme's correct perception was spoiled by his theory that the *Viae* were constructed before the war to facilitate operations. Every conquest would be much easier if the enemy allowed strategic roads to be made beforehand by the invader in his country ; but one cannot conceive why the tribes allowed Roman soldiers to make roads that often led through the most difficult and defensible parts of Taurus.

How long after the first battle did the war last ? Allow twelve days to each fortress, the approach, the investment, the starvation (*ἐξεπύρθησαν λιμῶ*, Strabo), the last sally and the final massacre (Roman method is certain). No one that has seen or read about *Ὀύασαδα*² will consider that twelve days is too long. The investment of two castella simultaneously cannot be admitted, considering the character of the country, the long lines of communication in enemy land, and the small Roman army. Thirty-six sieges lasted at least 432 days. Deduct the time when fighting was impossible. Suppose the army could stand the intense cold of the high plateau : the Romans endured the cold of Armenia in 55-67, when sentinels were frozen at their posts ;³ the Arabs could raid Anatolia when their hands and feet dropped off (frostbite) ; but no army can do anything in deep snow—read Sterrett, *WE*, p. 80— or when the rich soil is a deep sea of mud from rains and melting

¹ He told me that he wished to recast Vol. III ab initio ; but the Academy could not afford the expense. Any experienced printer will give an estimate. I asked a master printer about one of the smallest parts. He said that he could not do it for £2000.

² See Keil-Knoll, *Denkm. Lykaon., etc.*, p. 22.

³ Quirinius was too careful a general to ask this from his soldiers. Corbulo was a man of big words.

snow in spring and winter. Four hundred and thirty-two days means two full years' war.

Yet this fighting, its raids and sieges, was a monotonous story ; each step was the same as the last. To Dio (LV, 28, 2 f.) it seemed dull and profitless to go into details ; so Tacitus in A.D. 36 described two such sieges as one (Tac. *Ann.* VI, 41). Compare that later episode of exactly similar character on the southern side of Taurus, near the Homanades in the kingdom of Archelaos, son of king Archelaos Sisines.¹ The Kietai, who had been annoyed by the census of 34,² rebelled ; they had only two castella Kadra and Davala, but the Syrian legatus Vitellius sent a force of 4000 legionaries and select auxilia under a legatus (legionis?).³ The memory of Quirinius's strategy is here evident : the force is large, considering the opposition. The operations were similar : the Romans besieged each castellum, and drew fortified lines around it ; a desperate sally was annihilated ; the rest surrendered from thirst.⁴ It was a chance of weather, whether food or water failed.⁵

Legionary troops were required from Syria then and always. In A.D. 52, Syrian alae alone were sent to quell the Kietai by the legatus, who forgot Quirinius's lesson⁶ ; they failed (Tac. *Ann.* XII, 49).

It is noteworthy that imperial troops were sent if trouble arose in a client State : such kingdoms were part of the *oikoumene*, subjected to census, and defended in trouble.

After the war the same defensive method was continued. Five other *coloniae* were founded in 6 B.C., to hold the Taurus : as events proved, they had little to do ; Quirinius's work proved final. These *coloniae* retained their status ; all struck coins ; they served their purpose, and justified the providence of Augustus and proved the thoroughness with which Quirinius did his work.

¹ Th. Reinach distinguished Sisines from Archelaos wrongly.

² This proves that the periodic census were enforced in dependent kingdoms, counted part of the *οἰκουμένη* (Luke II, 1 f.). Archelaos Sisines died (17) in Rome. His son was permitted to reign over part of the kingdom. He is so obscure as to escape notice in Real-Enc. (under Archelaos) ; but he is mentioned last on an anta of the little Korykian temple, *Ἀρχέλαος Ἀρχελάου*.

³ Or his own legatus.

⁴ Tac. *Ann.* VI, 41, *operibus circumdedit, et erumpere ausos ferro, ceteros siti ad deditionem coegit*. Such castella had always cisterns.

⁵ One heavy shower would fill the cisterns ; then hunger caused surrender.

⁶ He hoped that quick action would do instead of strength.

If these *coloniae* had not been founded, the tribes would not have learned so quickly that fighting for Rome was better than against Rome : they got education in a wider world, and came home after twenty-five years to the possession of moderate capital as small landed proprietors, the real strength of a healthy commonwealth, and *cives Romani*.

Two years, 8-6 B.C., were spent in road-making ; all the five *miliaria* are dated 6 B.C. The time is short, but the native roads were improved, not completely reconstructed.

The importance of the Homanadensian War (*Tac. Ann.* III, 48) was recognized by Augustus, who rewarded the victor with insignia of triumph, including a statue *inter triumphales*.¹ The victory added permanently to the Empire territory more than 400 miles long over Roman roads from Lystra Colonia to Colonia Comama (Kommakon ?). That initial misconception about Taurus caused total misunderstanding of the extent and results of the war.

It is amazing to read Dr. E. Groag's belittling of the war as no more than a frontier incident (which means that Augustus and the Senate were utterly mistaken about it). Groag was misled by a theory : he wished to assign the Tiburtine inscription to Plautius Silvanus. Mr. Syme demolished his theory by the one word *iterum*, and held that the war required two or more legions, which he made to spring up anywhere and everywhere.

The proof that Quirinius made the war with his own Syrian legionaries is clinched by Luke, who says, II, 2, that Christ was born in the year when Augustus's edict that the entire Roman world should be numbered first took effect, and that Quirinius was then governing Syria. In 8 B.C. all who had been born during 9 or earlier were counted, each in his own city. Quirinius received in 8-7 the submission of all Taurus west of Cilicia Tracheia, and Isaurika (these he had not touched), and probably returned to Rome (?), leaving to Cornutus (Arruntius) Aquila, governor of Galatia, the task of building the *Viae Sebastai*.

Some writers loosely transfer the Birth of Christ to the second census, A.D. 6, thinking that a single error in Luke II, 2, is thereby

¹ Not through court favour or dynastic purpose. Quirinius was a man of the humblest origin, very rich in his old age and detested as hard, low born, and stern ; he could not adapt himself to his new position as a rich Roman noble ; yet Dr. Groag thinks that he went back to his native hut. He had his rich mansion at Tibur, unhappy and out of his element.

wiped out ; they forget that Matthew II, 1 and Luke I, 5 and universal Christian tradition place the Birth under Herod, who died 4 B.C. Such loose thinking is worthy of the Tübingen School, whose errors have been long consigned to oblivion so complete that some moderns do not know that they are repeating them. Nothing is so hard to kill as the hydra heads of error.

6. MEMORY OF AUGUSTUS was revived annually at Ancyra the capital, and the record was incised on an anta of the Sebastêon : no mourning, but joy and splendour.

Rostovtzeff first treated this important record properly (*Mél. Boissier*, p. 419) ; he proved that the dating is by legati Galatiae. The old view that the names are of archiereis is not consistent with the spirit of Roman provincial administration, nor with provincial custom as Rostovtzeff showed.

Five dates by legati were stated (one lost), Metilius or Metellus, Fronto, Silvanus, Basila. These cannot be annual ; Rostovtzeff and Cagnat take them as penteteric (every lustrum) ; but in Anatolia celebrations at the tomb were annual.

A great idea expressed itself here : the loyalty of the province to the god-Emperor made the temple to Rome and Augustus : fate transformed the dedication into funeral ceremonial on his birthday, 23 Sept., IX, Kal. Oct.,¹ which had been the dawn of a New Era. In Anatolian terms, the Sebastêon was the family cenotaph, *μνημα προγονικόν*, on which the death dates of his heirs and successors were recorded : Tiberius and his mother are living in l. 30 ; Germanicus died in A.D. 19, Drusus in 23, Julia Augusta in 29, Tiberius in 37.

The dates on the anta are A.D. 14, 19, 23, 29, and 37 ; the names are of the legati of those years. There was no other heir : the murder of Caligula was ignored ; but the inscription and the festival continued for many years. We do not continue beyond l. 45. The copies are fragmentary, though more can be restored incompletely.²

The writing varies : the letters were engraved in successive years. The lower part is in smaller letters than the upper part. Type cannot indicate the changes ; but we make ll. 22 ff. smaller.

It has been shown that L. Calpurnius [Piso ?] Frugi was legatus

¹ His birthday was celebrated for centuries ; *BSA*, 1912-13, p. 66 ; Dio, LIV, 8, 5. The inscription suits annual ceremonies.

² It is understood that Herr and Frau Miltner have made a complete impression of this much neglected inscription ; as I learn from Rostovtzeff.

of Galatia in A.D. 14: he must be restored in the lost ll. 5-9 (where *CIG* rightly says that a *legatus* is wanted). Speculation is free as to the other four; they are (2) *Meteilius*¹ or *Metellus*, uncertain, *legatus* of A.D. 19.

(3) *Octavius Fronto*, senator in 16 (*Tac., Ann., II*, 33); *Cyrenenses Octavio pro consule* (*CIL*, III, 8), honoured *Julia Augusta*: (official expression of loyalty to the new [Emperor and] Empress): a similar inscription to *Tiberius* is certain; ² *legatus* 23.

(4) (*Pompeius*?) *Silvanus*, perhaps father or older brother of *M. Pompeius Silvanus*, cos. 45; he can hardly be the same; *legatus* 29.

(5) *Helvius Basila* was recognized by *Rostovtzeff*, l.c. (also *Social Basis*, no. 100; *legatus* 37).

Γ α λ α τ ὠ ν [τ] ὁ [κ ο ι] ν ὸ ν
 ἰ ε ρ α σ ἄ μ ε ν ο ν
 Θ ε ὠ ἰ Σ ε β α σ τ ὠ ἰ
 κ α ἰ Θ ε ἂ ἰ Ρ ὠ μ η ἰ
 5 Ε Π Ι Φ Ρ Ο Υ Γ Ε Ι

 Name of first donor

 δ ἰ ς δ η μ ο θ ο ι ν ἰ
 10 α ς ἔ δ ω κ ε ν . κ α ἰ μ ο ν [ο -
 μ ᾶ χ ω ν ζ ε ὔ γ η τ ρ ι ᾰ κ ο υ ν τ α
 κ α ἰ κ υ [ν ῆ] γ ι ο ν ἔ δ ω κ [ε ν
 τ α ὕ ρ ω ν κ α ἰ θ η ρ ῖ ω ν .
 Ρ ο ? ὕ φ ο ς δ η μ ο θ ο ι ν ἰ α ν
 15 ἔ δ ω κ ε ν . θ έ α ς κ α ἰ
 κ υ [ν ῆ γ] ι ο ν ἔ δ ω κ ε ν
 Ε Π Ι Μ Ε Τ Ε Ι Α Ι Ο Υ
 Π υ λ α ι μ έ ν η ς β α σ ι λ έ ω ς Ἀ μ ὺ ν
 τ ο υ ν ἰ ὸ ς δ η μ ο θ ο ι ν ἰ [α ς
 20 δ ἰ ς ἔ δ ω κ ε ν . θ έ α ς δ ἰ ς
 ἔ δ ω κ ε ν . ἁ γ ὠ ν α γ υ μ ν ι κ ὸ ν

καὶ ἀρμάτων καὶ κελ[ήτ]ων ἔ-
 δωκεν, ὁμοίως δὲ ταυρο[καθα-
 ψίαν καὶ κυνήγιον-ῆλι[ψ]ε τὴν
 25 πόλιν. τόπους ἀν[έ]θη[κ]ε ὅπο[υ] τὸ
Σεβαστῆόν ἐστίν καὶ ἡ παν[ή]γυ-
 ρις γείνεται καὶ ὁ ἵππόδρομος.
 Ἀλβιόριξ Ἀτεπόρειγος δημοθι-
 νίαν ἔδωκεν· ἀνδριάντας ἀνέ-
 30 θηκεν Καίσαρος καὶ Ἰουλίας
 Σεβαστῆς
 Ἀμύντας Γαισατοδιαστοῦ δημοθινίαν
 δις ἔδωκε· ἐκατόνβην ἔθυσεν θεάς
 ἔδωκεν· σειτομετρίαν ἔδωκεν
 35 ἀνὰ πέντε μοδίους.
Bias? Δογ[μ]η[τ]ου? lost
 Ἀλβιόριξ Ἀτεπόρειγος τὸ δεύτερον
 δημοθινίαν ἔδωκεν

ΕΠΙΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟΣ

40 Μητρόδωρος Μενεμάχου φύσει δὲ
 Δο[ρυ]λεύου δημοθινίαν ἔδωκεν. ἔ-
 λαιον [ἔθη]κεν μῆνας τέσσαρας.
 Μουσα[ν]δὸς Ἀρτίκνου δημοθινίαν
 ἔδωκεν
 Κουσ[?]ίνας Σελεύκου δημοθινίαν
 ἔδωκεν

¹ The name *Meteilius* does not occur in the province. *Metellus* was represented by *Caecilius*?

² An inscription with statue was dedicated to each new Emperor as an expression of loyalty, when the oath of loyalty was taken: *Social Basis*, p. 49q. *Tiberius* conjoined his mother with himself.

L. Ι, Γαλατῶν . . . is certain.¹ Perrot assures that N is not on the stone : τὸ κοινόν is required to express the will of the province. There was originally a small τ inside O.² In the lacuna we restore KOI and NON was written on the retreating side of the anta, "round the corner." In several other cases in this inscription letters were so written, e.g. l. ΙΙ, τριάκο is on the front, and ντα was "round the corner."

Metilius (Lucas), Metellus (Hamilton), is uncertain. Inscriptions show that the names of almost all legati of Galatia were taken into the nomenclature of the province. I have not found Metilius as yet ; Metellus is represented by Caecilius.

We add that in the provincial nomenclature of Galatia the names Plautius and Quirinius are not known. Quirinius never was legatus of Galatia, only honorary duumvir of Colonia Caesarea (Antiochea). There occur in Galatia, Pompeius, Caesennius, Calpurnius, Pisonianus (for Piso), Frugi and Φρούγιος, Arruntius, Silvanus, Lollius, Paullinus, Aquila, Annius, Afrinus, Petronius, Asprenas, Collega, Fronto, Octavius, Neratius, Pansinianus (for Pansa), Helvius, Basila, Celsus, Antistius, Sospes, Antius, Pomponius, Aufidius, Calvisius, Ruso, generally in local noble families eager to show loyalty in hope of attaining civitas : sometimes of soldiers who came home to the possession of land and capital and civitas and rank. My collections are not complete.

That Quirinius was proconsul of Asia (Lapis Tiburt.) is confirmed by an inscription of Thyatira. Τι. Κλαύδιος Κυρήνιος Κέλσος belonged to a family which had taken the name of Quirinius (as a mark of loyalty) and received civitas from Claudius (or Nero). The father of the first civis was named Kyrenios, as born under Quirinius (perhaps 5-2 B.C.) : Claudius suits most readily, when the son, born c. 20, would be about 20 years old.

Celsus Polemaeanus was procos. As., about 105-106, and his name was added to the family nomina later (through marriage?).

Lines 5-9 or 5-10 have not been read (except one word?), yet construction and meaning depend largely on them : they must be

¹ Rostovtzeff alters the text of Hamilton and Perrot : bad method !

² This device was favoured at Ancyra, and occurs often in the monument of the Koinon A.D. 101-102 (JRS, 1922). Examples are known in other inscriptions ; one from Synnada in *Appendix*, p. 224 f. Disappearance of a letter inside O must be recognized as part of the epigraphic pharmacopoeia.

restored conjecturally. Some points are certain : date, [ἐπὶ Φρού-
γει] dedication of the temple to Σεβαστῶι καὶ Ρώμῃ. The subject
is τὸ Κοινόν ; the commune of the province acting as priest (a truly
Anatolian idea) dedicated. *ιερασάμενον* is supposed by some editors
to be construed "acting as priest to Augustus and Rome" ; but
Anatolian Greek regularly construes *ιεράομαι* with genitive. The
datives go with ἀνέθηκεν (understood).

The legatus sets the example of the chief kinds of entertainment.
Rufus ? the procurator ? has not yet been identified. The legatus
and the procurator did not necessarily change at the same time.

In l. 23 f., we read ταυρο[καθαψ]ίαν¹ : 23-25 are wrong in
CIG : Perrot denies πολλ[ούς]. We place four public dinners in
A.D. 14 to 19, six in 19 to 23. In 36, *CIG* reads -ias, Lucas ΕΙΑΣ,
we [B]ίας ? In 44 we restore [Κουσ]ίνας. In 51 Perrot alone
caught the right word, καθαγωγάς (which he thinks has no sense) ;
θ is here used for τ, the earliest example known to me (later it
became common in Anatolian Greek). Long processions (e.g.
triumph), here probably trains of wild beasts, for a venatio with
keepers and attendants in costume are meant. Lucas came nearest
the truth. In 51-52 μονομάχων ζεύγη Λ ? ἔδωκεν.

6. Plautius Silvanus legatus Lyciae. The following titulus
found at Attaleia was attributed to M. Plautius Silvanus, cos. 2 B.C.,
in *Klio*, 1934, p. 141, placed in A.D. 6-7, and made the foundation of
great hypotheses. Perhaps it was brought from Aperlai or from
another συμπολιτεία on the Lycian coast to Attaleia in A.D. 912-
916, and commemorates a legatus under Nero of Lycia alone (made a
province in 43 by Claudius on account of disturbances) Μ. Πλαύτιον
Σιλουᾶνον | πρεσβευτὴν ἀντιστράτηγον | Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος |
Σεβαστοῦ ὁ δῆμος | καὶ οἱ συμπολιτευόμενοι | Ρωμαῖοι τὸν ἑαυτῶν
πάτρωνα | καὶ εὐεργέτην (*Athen. Scuol. Aten.*, VIII-IX, 1925, f.).

The inscription cannot belong originally to Attaleia, which was
not a συμπολιτεία (group of κῶμαι or οὐαί united to form a
single πόλις : δίπολις of two οὐαί, τρίπολις of three, τετράπολις
of four, etc.). Isaura was δίπολις (Strabo), Neapolis (Calder,
AJA, 1932, p. 453) and Aperlai (*LW*, 1290-1297) were τετραπόλεις ;
in them the technical term συμπολιτευόμενοι would be appropriate ;

¹ Hamilton indicates four letters illegible after ταυρο, *CIG* restores two ; Hamilton reads
χίαν, error for ψίαν.

it is most clearly recorded in Aperlai and Isaura (Keil-Knoll, *Denkm. Lykaon.*, No. 152).¹

Distance of land transport puts Isaura and Neapolis out of the question. The stone will therefore have been brought by sea from Aperlai² in 912-916 to fortify Attaleia, as were also stones from Patara (Sterrett, *EJ*, 252), and Phaselis (Weber, *Unters. Hadr.*, p. 225).

Some other stones found at Attaleia were doubtless carried thither; but this cannot be proved without more definite evidence.

The people of a *συμπολιτεία* were *συμπολιτευόμενοι*; and Roman cives were *συμπολιτευόμενοι* with the population in this Tetrapolis. The term *koinon* (*koinonia*) has approximately a similar sense (e.g. τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ Ὑργαλέων πεδίου), but a *κοινὸν* had not the rights of a *πόλις*. The formation of *πολιτεία* out of *κοινωνία* is described by Rostovtzeff in *Jahresh.*, 1901.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός after A.D. 14 was used to express imperial power separate from individual personality. In erasing an Emperor *damnatus*, the individual was doomed to oblivion; but the imperial office, as eternal, was not deleted. Nero was the Emperor in this inscription, and a new basis was engraved after his death.³ Such cases are difficult to trace and escape notice. In *JHS*, 1902, p. 119, No. 44 and in *IGR*, III, 262, Nero, not Augustus, is the Emperor.

Plautius Silvanus⁴ was legatus of Lycia, which was made a province by Claudius under a praetorian legatus. Dio places this in 43, but confuses it with the creation of the double province, Lycia-Pamphylia in A.D. 73.⁵ On Lycia provincia 43-73 A.D. see *Social Basis*, p. 32 f. Plautius ruled probably after Licinius Mucianus (54).

Erasure was made so as to leave the eternal office standing, or even to insert it. In this case a new stone was substituted for the

¹ Regio Pentapolitica Phrygiae designates a region in which there were *πέντε πόλεις* (not a *πεντάπολις*). *τρικωμία* is a tract containing three villages, not ranked as a *πόλις*.

² Other Lycian coast cities were *συμπολιτεῖαι*, but Aperlai enables us to quote Waddington: village cities were a feature of Lycia and a clue to solve enigmas in its history.

³ Replacement of a basis, *MAMA*, IV, 52.

⁴ He was perhaps grandson or grand-nephew of the consul of 2 B.C. (but see *PIR*), brother or nephew of Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus (cos. 45).

⁵ The date is doubtless right; but the text is strangely expressed. There is probably some deep-seated textual error: perhaps an ignorant gloss has been taken into the text.

old (only case known to me). Erasure of Nero and Domitian was carried into effect much more elaborately than later. *ILS*, 928, well exemplifies this early method, if quaestor Imp. Caesaris Aug. refers to Nero. Erasure of Domitian was by substitution of Divus Vespasianus.

The false dating of this inscription has caused perversion of the history of Attaleia and the province Pamphylia. There was no legatus Augusti in Pamphylia till (Nonius) Calpurnius Asprenas in 69. It might be suggested that Asprenas landed at Attaleia; but he touched at Kythnos on his way to his two provinces, Galatia and Pamphylia (placed under one legatus on this one occasion). The landing proves that he was (like other legati of Galatia) going to land at Ephesus on his way to Ancyra to take over his new duty.

APPENDIX I. PRE-PROVINCIAL GALATIA

Pita? Kadyň Khan (R. 1886) Doorstone

C · RVBRIO · C · F · POP · C · RVBRIVS · OPTATVS
PATRONO · PIETATIS · CAVSA
ΟΠΤΑΤΟC · ΓΑΙΩΙ · ΡΟΒΡΙΩΙ · ΤΩΙ · ΠΑΤΡΩΝΗΙ
ΦΙΛΟCΤΟΡΓΙΑC · ΕΝΕΚΕΝ

C. Rubrius of the Poblilian tribe, travelling outside of Roman territory with attendants on the central highway (see Strabo, 663) to the Euphrates.

Kadyň Khan is ancient Pitha, Pita?. In 1886 I found many inscriptions; most are published, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1888; many copied again by Calder, *MAMA*, I): some were reserved as obscure and probably important for topography. This was about 8 ft. up in a wall; standing on the back of a Turk I could read it: all letters were certain except the last in POP or POB. The wall had fallen before Calder and I ransacked the Khan in 1911.

C. Rubrius was buried by his freedman, who bought an expensive ornate tombstone. Doubtless Optatus wrote the inscription as a model for the native lapicida, who had never seen Latin letters. This was the only Latin inscription in the Khan. Stones for such

a building as this khan are often brought from some distance ; this came probably from Laodicea, about 18 miles east.

The simplicity of the epitaph, the lack of cognomen ; and the systematic use of iota adscript, point to a very early date. Ρόβριος in Greek is an early spelling of Rubrius, as Καλπόρνιος is of Calpurnius (examples, Dittenberger, *Hermes*, VI, 282). I consulted A. S. Hunt about the date, especially of the Greek ; he said that it might be written any time after middle of second century B.C.

At first I thought of a Roman trader, such as went with or before the eagles, rapacious and hated. This would make the monument earlier than the province, for Augustus seems to have forbidden them in his province Galatia ; I know no case of a Roman negotiator there, except at Conana, where much is unusual. A better idea, however, is probable.

In the S. C. Adramyttenum (Mommsen, *Ges. Schriften*, VIII, p. 345), which is placed c. 130-110 B.C., a senator, C. Rubrius C. F. Poplilia, was present when the decision was pronounced by a ὑπατος στρατηγός in the dispute about certain land. The identity of the two Rubrii is probable (or the traveller might be son of the senator). Rome was an uncomfortable abode during the period following 90 B.C. with its proscriptions and horrors. C. Rubrius, tribunus plebis with C. Gracchus in 123, author of the lex Rubria and the lex Rubria Acilia,¹ must have expected death any day while Sulla and the Senate were in power. Nothing further is known of him except the inscription on his grave in foreign Lycaonia. He wandered on the borders of prov. Asia with a few companions about 80-60.

Mommsen *l.c.* mentions that Numitorius (who occurs in the same list of senators) was perhaps killed in the Marian proscription 91 B.C.

APPENDIX II (see p. 220)

Any letter written small inside O is lightly engraved and disappears as the surface of the stone is worn. We quote an example from MAMA, IV, 63, ll. 3, 7, 15 : I copied this inscription in Nov. 1881, and saw N within final O in all. Buckler's company

¹ The identity of the senator with the tribune may be safely assumed.

copied the inscription in 1930 with the same minute care that they applied in all their work : N was not visible : they restore it as necessary. Compare *ibid.*, 66 (which I copied in 1888) : ll. 3 and 7, Σ or N is enclosed in O. They print in the transcription the letters Σ and N, and add a note that "Σ and N are engraved within O." My copy confirms their accuracy.

In 63, l. 6, *MAMA* reads Φρυγία[s] : I copied in 1888 as *MAMA* has it, but in 1881 Φρυγίας was complete. The decay of the surface at this point is fixed between 1881 and 1888. Restoration, however, must not be carried too far. *MAMA* restores iota adscript at the end of l. 1 ; but in 1881 there was a clear level surface after H washed clean by five days' continuous rain. No I was ever engraved. This is an important detail in the disuse of iota adscript. In my *Soc. Basis of Rom.*, No. 7, Le Bas's reading Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη is quoted as a proof of his accuracy.

INSCRIPTIONS GRECQUES D'ASIE MINEURE

par LOUIS ROBERT

I. INSCRIPTION DE L'AGORA DE SMYRNE

UN nouvel exemplaire du senatus-consulte relatif aux différends entre Pergame et les publicains a été récemment exhumé à Smyrne.¹ En même temps que ce document ont été trouvés deux fragments, gravés à la même époque, que A. Passerini vient de publier.² Dans l'un d'eux, E, il reconnaît une lettre de César.³

- [Γάιος 'Ιούλιος Καῖσαρ] αὐτοκ[ράτωρ, ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ δικτάτωρ
τὸ (δεύτερον?), Σμυρναίων ἄρχουσι]
[βουλῇ δῆμῳ χαίρει]ιν· εἰ ἔρρω[σθε, εἰ ἂν ἔχοι· υἱαῖνον δὲ
αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι·
[ὕμιν ἀντίγραφον τ]οῦ ἐπικρίμα[τος ἀπέσταλκα τοῦ γεγονότος
περὶ ἐκείνων]
4 [τῶν πραγμάτων π]ερὶ ὧν Μιθ[ραδάτης? ἐμοὶ λόγους ἐποίησατο
- - - - -]
[- - - ὁ αὐτ]ὸς περὶ τούτ[ου τοῦ πράγματος ἀπέσταλκα
- - - - -]
[- - - - εἰς Π]έργαμον καὶ Χ - - - - -
- - - - ἐ]κτὸς βασιλικο[ῦ ὁρίσματος - - - - -]
8 - - - - τε εἶναι δοκε[ῖ - - - - -
- - - - αστε τούτων - - - - -
- - τοῦ τῶν 'Ρ]ωμαίων δῆμ[ου - - - - -
- - - - τε φαίνεται θέ[λειν - - - - - βασιλεὺς]
12 [Ἄτταλος βασιλέως] Εὐμένους υἱὸ[ς - - - - -
- - - - σαναστε ἀσυλ[ία - - - - -]⁴

¹ *Türk Tarih*, II, 1934, pp. 640 sqq. (*Rev. Arch.*, 1935, II, p. 53). Les inscriptions agonistiques éditées *ibid.* sont republiées dans *Études Anatoliennes*, pp. 138-146 et 432.

² *Le iscrizioni dell'Agorà di Smirne concernenti la lite tra i publicani e i Pergameni*, *Athenaeum*, 1937, pp. 252-283.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 272-275.

⁴ Suivent les restes de sept lignes, que je ne reproduis pas.

Si mutilée que soit l'inscription, il en reste, je crois, suffisamment pour qu'on puisse comprendre ce dont il s'agit. Selon l'éditeur, la lettre aurait été adressée sans doute à la ville de Smyrne,¹ en tout cas pas à Pergame²; la décision de César concernait Pergame comme aussi Smyrne.³ A la ligne 4, Mithridate⁴ serait l'ambassadeur, ou un des ambassadeurs envoyés par Smyrne à César.⁵

Mais l'hypothèse que la lettre de César a été adressée à Smyrne ne repose sur rien.⁶ D'autre part, a priori, on doit se demander si le document n'est pas relatif à Pergame, et adressé à Pergame, comme est relatif à Pergame le senatus-consulte gravé en même temps. Le nom de Mithridate, faisant une démarche auprès de César au sujet de Pergame, est un trait de lumière. Il s'agit de l'ami de César, Mithridate de Pergame, qui le sauva à Alexandrie par l'envoi d'un contingent et reçut de lui après Zela le royaume du Bosphore et la tétrarchie des Trokmes. Des inscriptions de Pergame nous ont appris que Mithridate avait obtenu de César la liberté dont Pergame était privée sans doute depuis Sylla et avait été pour cela honoré par les Pergaméniens comme un "nouveau fondateur de la patrie après Pergamos et Philetairos."⁷ L'ἐπίκριμα⁸ dont on a re-

¹ "La sua lettera era diretta probabilmente agli Smirnei, se il luogo del ritrovamento significa qualche cosa." Mais le senatus-consulte ne concerne pas Smyrne.

² Suite de la phrase citée à la note précédente: "certamente non ai Pergameni, come risulta dall'indicazione indiretta [II] ἐργαμον della r. 6." Je ne comprends pas; ne peut-on trouver Πέργαμον dans une lettre adressée aux Pergaméniens?

³ "Il fatto che alla r. 6 troviamo nominato Pergamo, mostra che la decisione di Cesare riguardava questa città e anche Smirne; per la stessa ragione certo, per cui il Senatoconsulto e il decreto τῶν ὄποι Περγαμηνῶν εἰσὶν erano esposti a Smirne, cioè perchè la definizione del territorio di Pergamo, a suo tempo lasciato da Attalo III libera ed autonoma, interessava la comunità di Smirne. Così interessava, a nord di Pergamo, Adramyttion (ove si è trovato A [l'exemplaire du 'Senatus-consulte d'Adramyttion']); e, a sud, Elaia (vedi F, r. 5)." Mais Elaia est limitrophe de Pergame; de même Adramyttion; non pas Smyrne. Smyrne a dû être choisie comme un des lieux d'exposition de ces documents parce que c'était une des grandes villes de la Province, et, comme Adramyttion, le chef-lieu d'un conventus.

⁴ Passerini dit justement: "Nella r. 4 ho ristabilito, penso con qualche probabilità di essere nel vero, un nome proprio."

⁵ "Si tratterebbe, secondo me, di uno o più ambasciatori della città di Smirne inviati a Cesare; anche Smirne si deve essere trovata fra le città asiatiche che, vessate dai publicani, sollecitarono l'aiuto del dittatore."

⁶ Voir les notes, 1, 2, et 3.

⁷ Je résume ici l'article capital de H. Hepding, *Mithradates von Pergamon*, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1909, pp. 329-340. Cf. *Études Anatoliennes*, pp. 53 et 56. Il est stupéfiant que Geyer, auteur du récent article *Mithridates*, 15, dans Pauly-Wissowa (1932), ignore l'article de Hepding et les inscriptions de Pergame.

⁸ Passerini, p. 274, n. 2, renvoie à l'édit de Paulus Fabius aux Éphésiens, "pubblicata in via provvisoria parzialmente da J. Keil, *Jahreshefte*, 33 (1926)." La "promessa edizione

trouvé la copie à Smyrne est donc le document par lequel, à la prière de Mithridate, ont été rétablis les droits de Pergame ; on y reconnaît des mentions d'Attale III,¹ d'une asylie (l. 13),² de *ιερά* (l. 16 : [ἵ]πὲρ τῶν *ιερών*).³

Cette interprétation est confirmée par le misérable débris F, publié *ibid.*, pp. 276-277, par Passerini :

	- - - -	χά[ρα	- - - -
	- - - -	αστ	- - - -
	- - - -	α τούτῳ	- - - -
4	- - - -	χώρας	- - - -
	- - - -	χ]ώρας Ἐλα[ϊτικῆς	-
	- -	τὰ ὅρια τῆς χώρα]ς	τὰ πρὸς - - -
	- - - -	τῶν Ἐ?]λαειτῶν ἔω[ς	- - -
8	- - - -	λέγ?]εται ἐκείθε[ν	- - -
	- - - -	ὄριον χ]ώρας ἥτις τα	- - -
	- - - -	κατ'] ἐκείνον τὸν [χρόνον?	-
	- -	πόλεως?] ἀρχαίας εἰς τ	- - -
12	- - - -	οι ὄριον χώρα[ς	- - - -
	- - - -	Πέργ]αμον μέρη ε	- - -
	- - - -	Γαίου Ἰουλίῳ[ν Καίσαρος	-
	- - - -	τὴν πόλιν κα[ὶ τὴν χώραν?	
16	- - - -	καθιέρωσ]αν τοῖς θεοῖς	- - - -

Ce fragment est relatif au territoire de Pergame et à ses frontières avec la ville limitrophe au Sud-Ouest, Elaia.⁴ Les lignes 14-16 me paraissent devoir tirer leur explication des inscriptions de Pergame en l'honneur et de Mithridate et de César lui-même, qui ont été publiées ou expliquées par H. Hepding : ⁵

definitiva," attendue par Passerini, a déjà été donnée par F. K. Dörner, *Der Erlass des Statthalters von Asia Paullus Fabius Persicus*, Diss. Greifswald, 1935. Il vaut encore mieux rapprocher une inscription de Pergame même qui a échappé à Passerini et qui a été republiée par M. Segre, dans *Il mondo classico*, 1933, pp. 485-488 (cf. 1934, p. 71) ; elle est relative à l'Asklepieion et date de la même période : Ἐπίκριμα περὶ τῆς ἀσυλίας. Πόπλιος Σερούλιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Ἰσαυρικὸς ἀνθύπατος ἀρχονσι βουλῇ δήμῳ Περγαμηνῶν χαίρειν. Κλεῖτος Τείμωνος πρύτανις, Ἀσκληπιάδης Μάτρωνος ἱερεὺς (7 autres noms), ὁμοίως τε πρεσβευταὶ ὑμέτεροι, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἔμοι προσήλθον ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱερῶν νόμων ἀσυλίας τε· ἥτις ὑμῖν ἀντίστασις ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ δικαίων πρὸς Μάρκον Φάννιον Νεμερίου υἱὸν Τηρετεῖνα ὑπῆρχεν κτλ.

¹ Passerini l'a reconnu. ² Cf. le texte cité à la note 8, sur l'asylie de l'Asklepieion.

³ Ou bien l'on avait une phrase telle 'que τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων. Cf. le texte cité à la note 8.

⁴ Passerini est assez mal informé sur cette ville, qu'il appelle Ἐλαιέα.

⁵ Cf. p. 228, n. 7.

A. Ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν.

Μιθραδάτην Μηνοδότου τὸν διὰ γένους ἀρχιερέα
καὶ ἱερέα τοῦ Καθηγεμόνος Διονύσου διὰ γένους,

- 4 ἀποκαταστήσαντα τοῖς πατρώοις θεοῖς τήν τε πόλιν
καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ γενόμενον τῆς πατρίδος μετὰ Πέργαμον
καὶ Φιλέταιρον νέον κτίστην.

B.¹ [Ὁ δῆμος]

[ἐτίμησε] τὸν ἑαυτοῦ σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην

- [Γάιον Ἰού]λιον Γαίου υἱὸν Καίσαρα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ
4 [ἀρχι]ερέα καὶ δικτάτορα τὸ [β'] πάσης ἀρετῆς [καὶ εὐνοίας]
[ἐνεκ]εν ἀποκαταστήσαντα τοῖς θεοῖς τήν τε πόλιν
[καὶ τῇ]ν χώραν οὖσαν ἱερὰ[ν καὶ ἄσυλον καὶ αὐτόνομον].

II. INSCRIPTION D'APHRODISIAS

Parmi les inscriptions trouvées dans les fouilles d'Aphrodisias en 1913² figure un décret pour un athlète, Aurelius Achille. M. A. Boulanger, qui le découvrit, a bien voulu me communiquer aimablement son carnet d'inscriptions et son estampage.

Base quadrangulaire, dans le quatrième entrecolonnement du Portique Nord des Thermes. Le couronnement n'a pas été retrouvé. Sur une autre face, une épigramme agonistique, que je ne publie pas, célébrant le même personnage.

- [Τοὺς] ἐσπουδακότας ἀποδεχο[μέ]-
[νης] αἰὲ ταῖς πρεπούσαις καὶ δικα[ί]-
[αῖς] πρὸς ἀξίαν μαρτυρίαις τῆς λαμ-
4 [πρ]οτάτης πόλεως τῶν Ἐφεσίων καὶ
[συ]νηδομένης ὡς οἰκείοις τοῖς πάν-
[πα]ν ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ, ὅσα ταῖς ἄλλαις πό-
[λ]εσιν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανέσιν τῶν ἀν-
8 [δ]ρῶν ὑπάρχει πρὸς εὐδοκίμησιν

¹ Je ne mets entre crochets que les lettres qui ne se lisent dans aucun des deux exemplaires de l'inscription. L'un de ces exemplaires, restitué et interprété par Hepding, était publié et mal restitué dans *I. von Pergamon*, n. 379 ; *IGR*, IV, 304. On lisait, à la fin : ἀποκαταστήσα[ντα τήνδε τή]ν χώραν οὖσαν ἱερὰ[ν Ἀθηνᾶ]. D'où Passerini, 275 : "Dobbiamo però immaginare che Cesare, nel suo viaggio per l'Asia dopo la vittoria di Farsalo, abbia concesso a Smirne qualche beneficio analogo a quello reso a Pergamo, dove sappiamo che permise di riconsacrare il territorio già sottratto dai publicani al santuario di Atena (*IGRR*, IV, 304)." Pourtant l'inscription était reproduite avec les restitutions de Hepding dans *IGR*, IV, 1677.

² Cf. *Comptes-rendus Acad. Inscr.*, 1914, pp. 46 sqq.

- [ἐ]ξαίρετα, ταῦτα ὑπάρχειν εὐτυχῇ,
 [κ]ατὰ πλείον δέ τι τῆς περὶ τὴν εὖνοι-
 [α]ν ροπῆς ἀπονεμούσης τῇ λαμ-
 12 προτάτῃ πόλει τῶν Ἀφροδισιέων
 [π]ρὸς τὴν πολλὰ καὶ ἐξαίρετα περὶ
 [τ]ὴν ἀντίδοσιν τῆς φιλοστοργίας
 ἐστὶν αὐτῇ δίκαια, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα
 16 Αὐρ. Ἀχιλλέα σώματος μὲν ἄσκησιν
 ἐπανελόμενον, ἀθλήσεως δὲ
 τὸν γενναϊότατον, βίου δὲ καὶ προ-
 αιρέσεως τὸν σεμνότατον, ὥς ἐν αὐ-
 20 τῷ πᾶσαν κεκρᾶσθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν ὅσην
 ψυχῆς ἐστὶν καὶ σώματος, ἀποδε-
 ξαμένης μὲν πολλάκις καὶ ἐν τοῖς
 φθάνουσιν ἀγῶσιν οἷς ἐκόσμησεν
 24 διαπρεπῶς καὶ μετὰ πάσης ἀγω-
 νισμένος ἀνδρείας, μάλιστα δὲ
 ἐν τῷ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἀγῶνι, ὅτι προ-
 τρεψαμένης αὐτὸν ὡς πατρίδος
 28 τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὸ τελεώτατον τῶν
 ἀγωνισμάτων καὶ τὴν κρίσιν τῶν ἀν-
 δρῶν μετελθεῖν, ὑπακούσας κα[ὶ]
 πεισθεὶς τῇ προτροπῇ τοὺς τε ἀν-
 32 τιπάλους κατηγωνίσατο καὶ μετὰ
 τοσαύτης δόξης τὸν κότινον ἀν[ε]-
 δήσατο ὡς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν
 εὐδοκιμησάντων ἀγωνισμάτων
 36 καταριθμείσθαι τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὐ-
 τοῦ καὶ προθυμίαν · διὰ ταῦτα ἔ-
 δοξεν · μὴ μέχρις ὅλης τῆς γνώ-
 σεως τῶν παρόντων μηδὲ τῶν ἀ-
 40 παντησάντων κατὰ καιρὸν τῷ στα-
 δίῳ στήναι τὴν περὶ τούτων μαρτυρί-
 αν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ παρακαταθέσθ[αι] δι[ὰ]
 τούτου τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἔτι μᾶ[λ]-
 44 λον αὐτὸν τῇ πατρίδι.

Il est intéressant d'avoir un nouveau décret pour un athlète.
 Car cette série de documents est encore assez pauvrement fournie.

J'en connais cinq autres exemples, que je numérote ci-après de B à F.¹

B. *BCH*, 1899, 555, n. 41 B ; *Sylloge*³, 740. Dans la première moitié du I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.,² Delphes décerne la proxénie et autres privilèges à un athlète de Smyrne, Hermokrates, et à son père, Hermodôros :

παραγενηθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Πυθίων πεποίηται τὰν ἀναστροφὰν καλὰν καὶ εὐσχήμονα καὶ ἀξίαν τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ ἀμετέρου δάμου, ἀπόδειξιν διδόντες καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον ἀγωγᾶς, Ἑρμοκράτους δὲ καὶ πρότερον τῆς κατὰ τὰν ἄθλησιν ἀρετᾶς διὰ τὰν συνεχῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένην γυμνασίαν³ γνωσθέντος, ἀγωνιζαμένου δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀξίως τῆς περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀθλήσιος.⁴

C. *Olympia*, n. 54-55 ; *Sylloge*³, 1073. Décret des Éléens décernant le droit de cité au pancratiaste Tib. Claudius Rufus, de Smyrne, qui a fait match nul (ιεράν)⁵ aux Olympia. Second siècle de notre ère.

D. *GIBM*, 794.⁶ Décret de οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀθληταὶ καὶ οἱ τούτων ἐπιστάται⁷ pour Εὐβουλος Ἀπολλοδώρου de Knide, défunt : διὰ τε τὸ εὐγενὲς αὐτοῦ καὶ [τὸ τῶν] προγόνων φιλότειμον καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν ἄθλησιν λαμπρόν ; [τὸ] πρόθυμον αὐτοῦ καὶ μεγαλοφυὲς περὶ τὴν ἄθλησιν. Second ou troisième siècle de notre ère.

E. *LW*, 1620 ; Liermann, *Analecta epigr. et agon.*, p. 70, n. XIII. Décret de l'association des athlètes pour Kallikratès d'Aphrodisias, pancratiaste.⁸ Sous Hadrien.

¹ Il n'y faut point ranger le décret d'Éphèse (III^e siècle av. J.-C.) *Ephesos*, II, n. 5. Comme l'ont vu Ad. Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte*, 17 (1914), p. 91, et P. Roussel, *REG*, 1924, 354, il " nous montre la cité, non point conférant la πολιτεία à des athlètes vainqueurs [sic Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros*, 1906], mais, par la vente du droit de cité, se procurant les ressources nécessaires à l'entraînement de ces athlètes." Les deux athlètes ont déjà été vainqueurs, πρότερόν τε νικῶντ[ες] (l. 2) et doivent encore vaincre, ἑτέρους νικήσειν ἀγῶνας (l. 3) ; leur "épistate" (cf. *Études Anatoliennes*, p. 139, n. 1) se présente devant le conseil (l. 4) ; il est question de leur entraînement et de leur séjour à l'étranger (ll. 7 et 9 : μελέτην καὶ εἰς ἄλλας χερῶν[as] ; [ε]ἰς τὴν ἀσκήσιν καὶ τὴν ἐγδημίαν).

² Sur l'archonte Agesilaos, voir G. Daux, *Delphes au II^e et au I^{er} siècle*, pp. 623-624.

³ Interprétation de Ad. Wilhelm, *Anz. Ak. Wien.*, 1922, pp. 20-21 ; Homolle et Pomtow, τὰν γενομένην γυμνασίαν.

⁴ Sur la signification modeste de cette expression, cf. *Rev. Phil.*, 1930, p. 29.

⁵ *Rev. Phil.*, 1930, pp. 27-28.

⁶ Cf. Ad. Wilhelm, *Arch.-ep. Mitt. Öst.*, 20 (1897), pp. 62-63.

⁷ Ce ne sont pas les présidents de l'association, comme on a cru, mais les entraîneurs et soigneurs des athlètes (cf. *Études Anatoliennes*, p. 139, n. 1).

⁸ Cf. O. Gottwald, *Comm. Vind.*, III (1937), pp. 12-14.

F. CIG, 2811 b ; LW, 1620 a ; Liermann, *loc. cit.*, p. 86, n. XV. Décret de l'association des athlètes pour Aelius Aurelius Menandros d'Aphrodisias, pancratiaste, xystarque à Antioche de Pisidie. Sous Marc-Aurèle.

Je considère le décret publié ci-dessus comme un décret d'Éphèse. On félicite la ville d'Aphrodisias et Aur. Achille d'Aphrodisias, à l'occasion de la victoire remportée par cet athlète aux Olympia d'Éphèse (l. 26). Ces concours éphésiens apparaissent fréquemment dans les documents agonistiques.¹

A l'époque impériale, ce fut monnaie courante que d'accorder le droit de cité à des athlètes. Si nous n'avons conservé qu'un décret de cette sorte (C), les inscriptions de Delphes enregistrent, sous la brève forme Δελφοὶ ἐτείμησαν πολειτεία ou Δελφοὶ Δελφὸν ἐποίησαν ou Δελφοὶ πολείτην καὶ βουλευτὴν ἐποίησαν, que le droit de cité a été accordé à quelque athlète.² Surtout les inscriptions sur des bases de statues d'athlètes mentionnent à profusion les multiples droits de cité collectionnés par ces gens. Un seul exemple : le pancratiaste Demonstratos Damas de Sardes était citoyen d'Alexandrie, Antinooupolis, Athènes, Lacédémone, Corinthe, Argos, d'Élide, de Delphes, Éphèse, Smyrne, Milet, Tralles, Pergame, Nicomédie, Naples.³ Le décret pour Achille ne lui accorde pas cet honneur si banal ; il ne lui accorde même aucun honneur ; ce n'est pas proprement un décret honorifique, mais, exactement, une μαρτυρία, un "témoignage." Je ne puis m'étendre ici sur la forme et l'usage de la μαρτυρία et du ψήφισμα μαρτυρητικόν (opposé au ψήφισμα τιμητικόν) ; j'en ferai l'histoire dans mon ouvrage sur les honneurs à l'époque impériale. Dans notre document, d'une part la μαρτυρία doit porter les mérites d'Achille à la connaissance (μέχρι τῆς γνώσεως)⁴ des gens ; ceux

¹ Dans *Rev. Phil.*, 1930, p. 52, n. 8, j'ai renvoyé aux monnaies d'Éphèse et j'ai cité treize inscriptions de diverses provenances. Ajouter ces inscriptions d'Éphèse : CIG, 2999 (cf. LW, 173) ; LW, 160 ; Ephesos, IV, n. 13 (Ὀλύμπια ἱερὰ ἰσολαστικά, ἀλυσταρχοῦντος τοῦ δεινός, ἐπιμεληθέντος τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος τοῦ δεινός) ; *Jahreshefte*, 30 (1937), Beiblatt, 213.

² Fouilles Delphes, III 1, 200 : Π. Φλα. Κλαυδιανὸς παιδοτρίβης ; 220 : Α. Ἰτουλ-ληνὸς Ἀπόλαντος Ζμυρναῖος γυμναστής ; BCH, 1928, 420 : Κουντίλιος Καρποφόρος Ἐφέσιος καὶ Ἡλείος, ἀρχιγραμματεὺς ξυστοῦ.

³ IG, XIV, 1105. Cf. *Rev. Phil.*, 1930, pp. 46 sqq. ; *Sardis*, n. 79.

⁴ Cf. μέχρι τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν γνώσεως προκόψαντα dans un décret de Byzance (cf. *Études Anatoliennes*, p. 228).

qui ont assisté dans le stade à sa victoire ¹ ne doivent pas être seuls à la connaître. D'autre part, par ce décret, on "recommande" Achille à sa propre patrie (παρακαταθέσθαι διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος αὐτὸν τῇ πατρίδι).

Le décret nous donne un bon exemple du style emphatique et recherché qui est habituel dans les documents de l'époque impériale. Je ne puis étudier à l'occasion d'une inscription ce style si remarquable, pour lequel les documents se multiplient heureusement. Je noterai seulement quelques rapprochements empruntés aux inscriptions les plus voisines par leur sujet.

La construction du décret est la suivante. Tous les considérants sont rédigés en phrases au génitif absolu (ll. 1-37) : τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἀποδεχομένης—καὶ συνηδομένης,—καὶ ἀπονεμούσης,—καὶ Ἀχιλλέα ἀποδεξαμένης. Toutes les autres propositions viennent s'insérer dans ce cadre.

Ll. 1-15. Considérations générales : la ville d'Éphèse a l'habitude d'estimer les gens de valeur, même s'ils ne sont pas Ephésiens, et elle a une spéciale affection pour Aphrodisias.

Ll. 1-4. Éphèse honore les gens zélés en leur décernant les "témoignages" convenables. Sur ἀποδέχεσθαι ², cf. notamment Ad. Wilhelm, *Anz. Akad. Wien*, 1928, pp. 132-133.³

Ll. 4-9. Éphèse félicite les gens de valeur comme s'ils étaient ses propres citoyens (συνηδομένης ὡς οἰκείοις τοῖς πάνπαν ἀγαθοῖς). Elle considère comme un bonheur (εὐτυχῇ) ⁴ tous les avantages de gloire (ὅσα—πρὸς εὐδοκίμησιν ἐξαίρετα) que procurent aux autres villes le fait qu'elles ont pour citoyens des hommes éminents

¹ Pour τῶν ἀπαντησάντων κατὰ καιρὸν τῷ σταδίῳ, cf. BCH, 1885, 124 sqq., ll. 38 sqq. (ce document est étudié dans mes *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, ch. I, 8), décret des Technites réunis à Éphèse, où Ad. Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte*, 24 (1929), p. 192, a restitué : τοῖς ἀπ[αντῶ]σιν (et non ἀπ[οτελοῦ]σιν) ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ καὶ πρώτῃ μητροπόλει τῆς Ἀσίας—Ἐφεσίων πόλει τῶν μεγάλων Ἐφεσίων πενταετηρικὸν ἀγῶνα. Le nouveau texte vient appuyer cette restitution.

² En français, on peut souvent rendre ἀποδέχεσθαι par "agréer."

³ Avec ce document de Sardes (*Sardis*, n. 8, ll. 35 sqq.) : ὁ δῆμος ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτὸν—ἐπηνέχθη τιμᾶν αὐτόν· δεδόχθαι—τὰς μὲν τειμᾶς αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς ἐννόμους ὑπερθεθεῖσθαι χρόνους, τὴν δὲ τοῦ δήμου εἰς αὐτὸν μαρτυρίαν δεδηλωσθαι διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος εἶναι τε αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ καλλίστῃ καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἀποδοχῇ.

⁴ J'attendrais ici un participe, tel que ἡγουμένης. Mais ὅσα—εὐτυχῇ peuvent peut-être se rapporter à συνηδομένης.

(ἐπιφανείς). C'est dire qu'elle n'est point jalouse que les autres villes aient de grands hommes et qu'elle sait elle aussi les honorer. L'association des musiciens, écrivant, en 130, à la ville d'Herakleia du Pont ¹ pour lui chanter les louanges d'un de ses citoyens, emploie cette phrase (ll. 18-19) : *συνηδόμενοι δὲ ὅτι τοιοῦτον εὐτύχησε πολείτην.*

Je n'avais pu débrouiller la construction des lignes 10-15, où on rappelle les rapports d'affection entre Ephèse et Aphrodisias.² Une suggestion de J. Keil permet de comprendre ce passage, au prix d'une légère correction : *κατὰ πλεῖον δέ τι τῆς περὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν ῥοπῆς ἀπονεμούσης τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ πόλει τῶν Ἀφροδισιέων πρὸς ἣν πολλὰ καὶ ἐξαίρετα περὶ τὴν ἀντίδοσιν τῆς φιλοστοργίας ἐστὶν αὐτῇ δίκαια*, "accordant davantage encore quelque chose de son inclination à la bienveillance à la très brillante ville d'Aphrodisias envers laquelle elle a beaucoup de droits éminents à un échange d'affection." On peut d'ailleurs avoir *τὴν* employé comme relatif. Ἡ *περὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν ῥοπή*, c'est "la propension, l'inclination à la bienveillance."

Lignes 16-37 : tout dépend du seul verbe *ἀποδεξαμένης*. Après les généralités, on en vient au bénéficiaire du décret. Son éloge général remplit les lignes 16-21. Il a "assumé l'entraînement physique." Pour *ἄσκησις*, cf. *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, 1893, p. 185, n. 29 : *νεανίαν ἐλόμενον τὴν ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ἄσκησιν* (Iasos) ; *Rev. Arch.*, 1899, II, p. 37 (IG, II²) : *τῆς περὶ λόγους ἀσκήσεως* (Eleusis) ; *GIBM*, 606 : *παῖδα κωμωδὸν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ σώφρονος ἀσκήσεως καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἐμπειρίας* (Éphèse).³ Aux lignes 17-19 on oppose, comme il est habituel, le métier (ici *ἄθλησις*), pour lequel on vante la "noblesse" d'Achille, et la vie privée, la conduite (*βίος καὶ προαίρεσις*), où l'on vante sa "dignité" ; *γενναῖος, σεμνός*,⁴ — et leurs superlatifs — sont des épithètes à la mode à cette date, et bien caractéristiques du *decorum* de l'époque. A ces éloges se rattache une proposition en *ὥς*, comme il est si fréquent dans le style des

¹ G. Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsber. Ak. Berlin*, 1888, p. 882, n. 44 ; cf. Mordtmann, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1889, p. 316 ; G. Hirschfeld, *GIBM*, n. 794, n. 1.

² Sous Vespasien, la ville d'Aphrodisias élève une statue à Éphèse *διὰ τε τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Σεβαστοὺς εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν νεωκόρον Ἐφεσίων πόλιν εὐνοίαν* (*Nim. Zeitschr.*, 52 (1919), p. 117, n. 4).

³ Il est question de l'entraînement (*ἄσκησις*) d'athlètes dans le décret d'Éphèse cité ci-dessus, p. 232, n. 1.

⁴ Pour *ἡθῶν σεμνότης*, cf. provisoirement *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, 1936, p. 245, n. 2 et 3.

documents honorifiques sous l'Empire ¹ : “ à tel point qu'il est un mélange de toutes les vertus de l'âme et du corps.” Dans un décret des athlètes (E) le pancratiaste Kallikratès est ainsi loué :

ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας εἰ[s τὰς ὁ]δοὺς τῆς ἀρετῆς τραπέϊς ἰδρῶσι [καὶ πό]νοις ἐκτήσατο τὴν εὐκλεῆ δόξαν,—διὰ τε τὴν ὀλόκλ[ηρον] αὐτῷ πεφιλοπονημένην σοφίαν· σώματι γὰρ ὑ[π]ερβάλλων ἅπαντας ἀρχαίους ἐθαυμάσθη [τὴν φύ]σιν, ψυχῆς τε ἐπιμελούμενος ἐμακαρ[ί]ζ[ε]το τὸν τρόπον.

Après cet éloge, le texte mentionne les relations antérieures d'Achille avec les Éphésiens, pour terminer par la victoire aux Olympia qui a été l'occasion précise de ce décret (ll. 21-24). La ville avait eu l'occasion déjà souvent d'apprécier Achille dans les concours précédents, ἐν τοῖς φθάνουσιν ἀγῶσιν.² En y participant il les avait “ embellis de façon éclatante,” ἐκόσμησεν διαπρεπῶς³ ; on ne saurait être plus flatteur ; de même le décret des Eléens pour Rufus (C), qui a fait match nul et qui a lutté jusqu'au soir avec son adversaire, dit que ce pancratiaste a τὸ ὅσον ἐφ' αὐτῷ καὶ αὐξήσαντι καὶ συνκοσμήσαντι τὸν ἀγῶνα (ll. 43-44). Achille avait lutté avec tout le courage possible, μετὰ πάσης ἀνδρείας ; même expression pour Rufus (C, l. 5-6) : τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν πανκρατιαστῶν ἀνδρεία τε καὶ σωφροσύνη διενένκαντα.

Ligne 26 : Éphèse a apprécié Achille au concours des Olympia, parce que — ; de ce ὅτι dépend tout le reste de la phrase jusqu' à la fin des considérants. La ville a “ exhorté,” a “ excité ” Achille à participer au concours des hommes. Elle l'a fait, par un zèle affectueux, comme si elle eût été sa patrie, ὡς πατρίδος.⁴ Les

¹ Cf. par exemple Ad. Wilhelm, *Anatolian Studies Ramsay*, p. 423.

² Pour φθάνων, cf. cette inscription pour un architecte d'Antioche du Méandre : ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ φθάνουσιν ἔργοις δοκιμεῖα δόντα—καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς τηλικούτοις ἔργοις εὐδοκιμήσαντα (BCH, 1883, 271) ; à Nysa : καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς φθανούσαις λειτουργίαις γενόμενον τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον πρῶτον ἄρχοντα (ibid., 273, l. 18).

³ Διαπρεπῶς, διαπρέπειν appartiennent au langage des documents de cette époque.

⁴ Cf. les formules semblables où on loue un étranger de s'être employé ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ὡς ὑπὲρ ἰδίας πατρίδος (BCH, 1935, 436-437). Dans le décret d'Athènes IG, II², 871, l. 5 et 6, au lieu de [—δι]καίως ἂν ὑπὲρ I/ —, je rétablis : καὶ ὡς ἂν ὑπὲρ ἰδ[ί]ας πατρίδος —] φροντ[ί]ζει τῆς πόλεως]. Outre les inscriptions d'Athènes et de Crète citées BCH, loc. cit., cf. Fouilles Delphes, III⁴, n. 59, l. 7, décret de Delphes pour un rhéteur de Mazaka en Cappadoce, φιλοτιμούμενος ὡς ὑπὲρ ἰδίας πατρίδος καὶ πολιτῶν, et Valmin, *Inscr. de la Messénie* (1929), p. 16, n. 2, l. 6-8, décret de Thouria pour un Lacédémonien, qui τοῖς τε παραγεινομένοις ποτ' αὐτὸν [πολείτα]ις παρεχόμενος εὐχρηστον ἑατὸν ἐν τε παρακλ[ή]σει καὶ κριτηρίων παραστάσεων λέγων καὶ ὑπεραυθεν[τῶν ὡ]ς ὑπὲρ ἰδίων πολειτῶν.

mots *προτρέπεσθαι* et *προτροπή* sont fréquents dans les documents honorifiques.¹ A Olympie (C, ll. 36-38), Rufus a été *ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν νείκην ἐλπίδος ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀγωνίζεσθαι προτρεπόμενος*. Notre décret permet sans doute de mieux comprendre une inscription de Metropolis de Phrygie (MAMA, IV, 132), gravée sur la base de la statue d'un vainqueur au pancrace :

Ἐτείμησε Αὐρ. Μεννέας β' θέμεως ἀγωνοθέτης Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρον Τειίου προτρεψαμένης τῆς πόλεως ἐνδόξως ἀγωνισάμενον πυθικῶν παγκράτιον.

Comme il est fréquent, l'agonothète a élevé à ses frais la statue d'un vainqueur.² Le premier éditeur, W. M. Ramsay, a expliqué : ³ “*προτρέπεσθαι* expresses the authorisation by the city : cp. τοῦ συλλόγου προτρεψαμένου, *Mous. Sm.* n° σλα' (Teira).” Mais *προτρέπεσθαι* ne peut jamais signifier “autoriser,” mais bien “exhorter, exciter.” Tel est le sens dans l'inscription de la vallée du Kaystre que l'on cite ⁴ : Αὐρ. Λαρεισαῖος Πλουτίωνος Ἐφέσιος ἀγορανομήσας τάχιον, νῦν διὰ συλλόγου ⁵ προτρεψαμένου αὐτὸν Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀρτεμιδώρου — φιλοσεβ(άστου) βουλάρχου, ὑμνωδοῦ τῆς ἀγιωτάτης Ἀρτέμιδος, τοῦ προεστῶτος τῆς κατοικίας, ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ [κτῆ]σεως [ἀρχ]ῆς λογισ[τείας telle somme]. Il s'agit de la *summa honoraria* qu'un personnage a été “exhorté” à verser. D'autres documents de la même provenance parlent aussi de la même *προτροπή* ; on voit qu'elle a dû être fort pressante, sans doute peu agréable pour les intéressés : deux personnages λογιστεύσαντες [τῆς τῶν] Ἀπατειρηνῶν κατοικίας — ἐπὶ μιᾷ φιλοτειμῖα [καὶ] δόντες τὸν λόγον, κατὰ τὴν προτροπὴν τοῦ ἀξιολογωτάτου Τ. Φλ. Λευκίου Ἰέρακος ἔδωκαν παρ' ἐαυτῶν ἔξωθεν εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ μεγάλου βαλανίου ἀργυρίου δηνάρια σν' ⁶ ; Αὐρ. Μάρκος — Ἐφέσιος, ἐπεὶ καὶ τάχειον

¹ Il m'entraînerait trop loin de donner les exemples de *προτρέπεσθαι* que j'ai rassemblés. Pour *προτροπή*, cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, 1910, p. 408, 3-4 : [τυγχάνειν] τῆς τῶν ἐπ' εὐεργεσίας τετιμημένων δόξης πρὸς προτροπὴν τῶ[ν ἄλλων] ; Ad. Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge*, III, p. 48 (Hyllarima [cf. *Études Anatoliennes*, p. 513, n. 1], Aphrodisias, Termessos).

² J'en traiterai dans mon ouvrage sur les concours.

³ C.B., p. 758.

⁴ *Μουσ. Συμυρν.*, II, p. 29 ; bien meilleur texte dans *Ath. Mitt.*, 1878, p. 56, n. 2 (IGR, IV, 1665).

⁵ J'entends : “par devant l'assemblée.”

⁶ IGR, IV, 1662, Nouvelle édition : Keil et von Premerstein, *III^e Reise in Lydien*, n. 116. Je ponctue différemment de Cagnat ; il rattache δόντες τὸν λόγον et κατὰ τὴν προτροπὴν, ponctuant d'une virgule entre Ἰέρακος et ἔδωκαν. Pourtant la comparaison avec 1665 ne laisse pas de doute sur l'interprétation : ces deux personnages avaient été

ἔδωκα, καθὼς ἔθος ἦν διδόναι, ὑπὲρ κωμαρχίας δηνάρια α, προτρεψαμένης δέ με πάσης τῆς κατοικίας ἔδωκα.—¹ C'est la *προτροπή* que nous font connaître les papyrus de l'époque impériale, l'invitation à assumer une magistrature.² Dans l'inscription de Metropolis, si la *προτροπή* concernait l'agonothète, il faudrait entendre que la ville l'a exhorté à assumer les frais de la statue de l'athlète, lui a imposé cette charge. Je crois que ces mots se rapportent à *ἐνδόξως ἀγωνισάμενον*. Comme Achille d'Aphrodisias à Éphèse, Alexandros à Metropolis a été vivement exhorté par la ville à prendre part au concours. Il faut d'ailleurs remarquer une expression. Une inscription de la même série honore Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρον Καρικοῦ Μεννέου ἐνδόξως νεικήσαντα πυθικῶν παγκράτιον ἀγῶνα θέμεως Μεννεανῆς πρώτης κτλ.³ On dit de notre athlète, non point *ἐνδόξως νεικήσαντα*, mais *ἐνδόξως ἀγωνισάμενον*. La formule semble indiquer que, si brillante qu'ait été l'épreuve, le personnage n'a pas été vainqueur.⁴ Cette statue élevée par l'agonothète n'aurait-elle point dédommagé d'une défaite ou d'un match nul l'athlète que sa patrie avait engagé à concourir?

Revenons-en aux exploits d'Achille d'Aphrodisias. Ayant accédé à la demande pressante de la ville, "il a vaincu ses adversaires et il a ceint la couronne d'olivier avec une telle gloire que son courage et son ardeur comptent au nombre des combats les plus renommés." Pour *καταριθμείσθαι*, cf. à Thyatire ἄνδρα ἡθους ἔνεκα καὶ παιδείας καὶ ἀρετῆς τε πάσης ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς Ἀσίας καταριθμούμενον (BCH, 1887, 101, 21-22).⁵ Aux Olympia d'Éphèse le prix était l'olivier sauvage (*κότινος*) comme à Olympie; de même aux Pythia de Tralles, de Périnthe, de Philippopolis, de Thessalonique, d'Ancyre, des pommes étaient données comme aux Pythia de Delphes.⁶ Pour *μετὰ τοςαύτης δόξης ὥς*, cf. le décret F, l. 4 sqq.;

logistes (avec naturellement une *summa honoraria*, ἐπὶ μιᾷ φιλοτεμίᾳ); ils étaient sortis de charge, avaient rendu leurs comptes (δόντες τὸν λόγον); ils acceptèrent pourtant, sur les instances de Hierax, de verser une somme supplémentaire (ἔξωθεν).

¹ J. Keil et von Premerstein, *III^e Reise in Lydien*, n. 79.

² Cf. Van Groningen, *Le gymnasiarque des métropoles*, p. 159.

³ Ramsay, *ibid.*, p. 757.

⁴ Cf. *Rev. Phil.*, 1930, pp. 28-29, une série d'exemples; ajouter BCH, 1890, 239: ἐνδόξως ἀγωνισάμενον παίδων πάλην et παίδων στάδιον; et le texte d'Antioche de Pisidie cité plus loin, p. 224.

⁵ Cf. aussi, dans la lettre de Néron aux Rhodiens (*Sylloge*³, 810, 24): ἀνδρὸς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις καταριθμουμένου.

⁶ Cf. *Études Anatoliennes*, p. 421; *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, p. 60.

ἀθλήσας ἐνδόξως καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δόξης προέβη ὥς πρῶτον μὲν ἀνελέσθαι εὐτυχῶς τοσοῦτους ἀγῶνας καὶ δοξάσαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἀγῶνα τὴν λαμπροτάτην πατρίδα αὐτοῦ κηρύγμασιν καὶ στεφάνοις. —Les Éléens (C, l. 26 sq.) disent aussi du pancratiaste Rufus : ἡγωνίσατο μέγα τι καὶ θαυμαστόν, et racontent en détail son match nul en y mêlant des louanges : ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δὲ καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐψυχίας ἦλθεν ὥστε κτλ. ; μέχρι νύκτος, ὡς ἄστρο καταλαβεῖν, διεκατέρησε —ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολειτῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης θεατῶν συνειλεγμένων ἐπὶ τὸν ἱερώτατον τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἀγῶνα ¹ θαυμάζεσθαι.

Le décret ne précise pas quelle était la spécialité d'Achille. Mais il offre une indication intéressante au point de vue agonistique. La ville a exhorté Achille à affronter τὸ τελεώτατον τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων καὶ τὴν κρίσιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν (ll. 28-30). Par "l'épreuve suprême," j'entends la lutte pour la couronne ; le décret pour Rufus décrit les préliminaires et les péripéties de ce dernier match ; j'ai réuni ailleurs une série de textes, littéraires et épigraphiques, contenant l'expression ἀγωνίζεσθαι περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου.²

La κρίσις τῶν ἀνδρῶν, c'est le concours des hommes, catégorie agonistique comme les παῖδες et les ἀγένοιοι. Κρίσις peut désigner un concours,³ mais il a un sens plus précis dans les inscriptions que je rassemble ici ; il désigne une "catégorie" athlétique. Plusieurs textes montrent qu'il s'agit d'un classement par âges ; d'abord notre décret d'Éphèse, avec l'expression ἡ κρίσις τῶν ἀνδρῶν. De même :

2. Aphrodisias CIG, 2810 b ; LW, 1620 b ; Liermann, *loc. cit.*, p. 88, n. XVI : statue du pancratiaste Menandros ⁴ πρῶ[τον καὶ μό]νον τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἀγ[ωνισάμε]νον τριετία τὰς τρεῖς κρίσ[εις, παῖδα], ἀγένοιον, ἄνδρα.

¹ Ce sont les spectateurs que le décret d'Éphèse appelle οἱ παρόντες καὶ οἱ ἀπαντήσαντες κατὰ καιρὸν τῷ σταδίῳ.

² *Rev. Phil.*, 1930, pp. 28-29 ; *Études Anatoliennes*, p. 140 ; et Eus., *Eccl. hist.*, V, 1, 38, comparant deux martyrs à des athlètes : ὡς διὰ πλειόνων ἤδη κλήρων ἐκβεβιακότες τὸν ἀντίπαλον καὶ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔχοντες.

³ Voir les textes cités par P. Wolters, *Zu gr. Agonen*, Progr. Würzburg, 1901, p. 12, n. 23. Mais les deux inscriptions qu'il allègue sont à interpréter dans le sens plus restreint que je vais étudier et dont il donne trois exemples épigraphiques (Aphrodisias, Laodicée de Syrie, Larisa).

⁴ Cf. ci-dessus, 233, et *Rev. Phil.*, 1930, pp. 27-28.

3. Laodicée de Syrie : *CIG*, 4472 ; *LW*, 1839 ; *IGR*, III, 1012 ; le boxeur Aur. Septimius Eirenaïos : *μόνος ἐγὼ ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος ἀπὸ πάσης κρίσεως ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ νεικήσας τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους ἀγῶνας*. Dans l'énumération des victoires, il y a en effet les *ἄνδρες*, les *ἀγένοιοι*, les *παῖδες* et les *Πυθικοὶ παῖδες*.¹

4. Sparte : *IG*, VI, 19 : un règlement détermine ce que reçoivent les vainqueurs à la course (*dolichos*, *diaule*, course armée) et au pentathlon ; les catégories d'âge sont l' *ἀνὴρ*, l' *ἀγένοιος*, le *παῖς καθαρὸς* et le *παῖς κρίσεως τῆς Ἀγῆσιλάου*.²

5. Aux Sebasta de Naples, le règlement *I. von Olympia*, n. 56 traite, dans un passage mutilé, de la—*κρίσεως στάδιον ἀνδρ[ῶν]* et de [*—κ*]ρίσιν ἀγώνισμα.

6. Larisa : *IG*, IX2, 531, l. 32 ; *Sylloge*³, 1059, II : liste de vainqueurs ; après le vainqueur *παῖδας πανκράτιον· Φίλων Φίλωνος ὁ νεώτερος*, on nomme : *δευτέρας κρίσεως· παῖδας πανκράτιον· Εὐπαλίδης Θεμιστογένους*.

7. Corinthe : dans un catalogue de vainqueurs aux Isthmia,³ où l'éditeur lisait, à la première ligne de la face B :—*ρισεωσα*, W. Peek⁴ a reconnu : [*κ*]ρίσεως *α'*. Neuf lignes plus bas, Peek écrit : [*κ*]ρίσεως *ι'*. Mais le chiffre 10 me paraît beaucoup trop élevé. Comme l'éditeur avait pointé l'*iota*, je croirais volontiers qu'il y avait [*κ*]ρίσεως *β'*.

8. Hermoupolis Magna : liste d'athlètes (cf. l. 45, *παγκρατιασταί*) : *Sammelbuch*, 678, l. 6 : [*π*]αλαισταὶ κρίσεως *α'* πάλης.

9. On peut dès lors comprendre cette inscription honorifique d'Éphèse (*GIBM*, 618) : [*—ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πασῶν τῶν κρίσεων, καὶ τὰ ἔπαθλα δόντα τοῖς μουσικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, καὶ πανηγυριαρχήσαντα τῶν Ἀρτεμεισίων, καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα τῶν μεγάλων Πυθίων καὶ ἀρχιερατεύσαντα τῶν ἐπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου, καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα τῶν χρυσοφόρων, δόντα καὶ κείονας τῇ πόλει*⁵ *εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον γυμνάσιον*. Hicks a commenté : "As

¹ Ces derniers reconnus dans *Rev. Phil.*, 1930, p. 46, n. 1.

² P. Foucart expliquait, *Péloponnèse*, n. 194 c : "les agonothètes étaient chargés de désigner les vainqueurs. Mais Agesilaos s'était réservé ce droit pour un certain nombre de combats. De là cette mention qui revient fréquemment *παῖς κρίσεως τῆς Ἀγῆσιλάου*."

³ Meritt, *Corinth*, VIII 1, *Greek Inscriptions* (1931), n. 16.

⁴ *Gnomon*, 1933, p. 416.

⁵ Sur ces dons de colonnes, cf. *Études Anatoliennes*, pp. 526-527 ; ajouter Ad. Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge*, IV, 62 (à Kestros) ; *GIBM*, 926 : *τοὺς κίονας μέχρι τῆς Δαμαίωνος στοᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων σὺν τῷ παντελεῖ κόσμῳ τὴν στοάν* (*Didymes*) ; sur une colonne du gymnase

ἀγωνοθέτης he may have paid the judges of all the contests." Les κρίσεις sont évidemment, non pas les jugements sur les épreuves, mais les catégories.

10. Des fragments de listes de vainqueurs aux Sebasta de Naples portent ces mots : IG, XIV, 754 : Σεβ. κρίσ(εως) πανκρ(ατιασ-τάς).—[Σεβ.] κρίσεως πεντ(άθλους) ; 755 : [Σεβ. κ]ρίσεως πύκτας ; 755 b ; [Σεβ.] κρίσεως σταδιαδ[ρόμους].

On a proposé diverses interprétations de cette Σεβαστὴ κρίσις.¹ Cette κρίσις, cela me paraît évident, est une catégorie d'âge, et n'a rien à voir avec la distribution des récompenses. Je l'explique par tous les textes réunis ci-dessus, notamment par celui qui est relatif aux Sebasta mêmes de Naples (n. 5), et, pour l'épithète jointe au mot κρίσις, je rapproche spécialement l'inscription de Sparte (n. 4), παῖς κρίσεως τῆς Ἀγῆσιλάου. Nous trouvons deux κρίσεις, deux catégories, à l'intérieur même des παῖδες,—qui forment, d'après les n^{os} 1 et 2, la κρίσις, la catégorie, des παῖδες,—à Sparte (n. 4) et à Larisa (n. 6). Cela s'explique aisément : les concurrents qui ne sont pas encore dans la classe des ἄνδρες ou des ἀγένητοι, mais dans celle des παῖδες, peuvent être très inégaux ; l'un peut avoir 14 ans et l'autre 17 ; aussi est-on amené à édicter des règles sur l'âge des παῖδες² et, à l'occasion, à faire plusieurs caté-

d'Iasos (où on a gravé une liste éphébique et un décret pour un éphébarque) Διόδωρος Θαραγγλίου γυμνασιαρχῶν τοῖς νέοις καὶ τῷ δήμῳ (GIBM, 925) ; à Iasos encore, au sanctuaire d'Artemis Astias (Ath. Mitt., 1889, p. 108) ; à Mylasa, sans doute au gymnase (ibid., p. 110) ; à Hypaipa (Μουσείον Συμπρ., I, p. 129) : καὶ ὃν ἔδωκε χρημάτων καὶ κειόνων, et ailleurs dans la vallée du Kaystre (Keil et von Premerstein, III^e Reise, n. 113) ; dans la région de Bagis (Keil et von Premerstein, II^e Reise, n. 235) ; à Délos, au sanctuaire des dieux syriens, toute une série de dédicaces, ὁ δεῖνα τὸν κείονα, gravées sur des chapiteaux (Inscr. Délos, 2267-2273) ; à Gerasa, sur les colonnes de l'agora ὁ δεῖνα ἐπλήρωσεν (SEG, VII, 889-891) ; à Palmyre (H. Seyrig, Syria, 1937, p. 373, avec la note 1).

¹ Kaibel, IG, XIV, 690, écarte avec raison celle de F. Mie, Quaestiones agonisticae, Diss. Rostock, 1888 : "F. Mie, p. 47, eos qui—Σεβ(αστῆς) κρίσεως πύκται, παγκρατιασταί—vocantur, gymnici cuiusdam collegii sodales intellegit, cui nomen Σεβαστὴν σύνοδον fuisse : nimis hoc inscite excogitatum est, neque κρίσις i. q. ordo s. collegium esse potest, sicut interpretatur ille titulis innisus male intellectis CIG, 2810 b et 4472" ; il proposait (p. 204, ad n. 754) : "pertinet hoc (Σεβ.) potius ad genetivum κρίσεως, velut Σεβαστοῦ vel Σεβαστῆς κρίσεως, ut de praemio ab ipso imperatore sive constituto sive distributo cogitaverim." Cf. P. Wolters, loc. cit. : "—kommen Σεβ. κρίσ(εως) πανκρατιασταί vor ; was das bedeutet, und ob 755, 755 b nun überall dasselbe Σεβ. zu ergänzen ist, bleibt bei der Trümmerhaftigkeit der Inschriften ungewiss."

² Le règlement des Sebasta de Naples contenait des prescriptions à ce sujet (I. von Olympia, 56, 10 sqq.) : [μὴ] ἐξέστω δὲ νεώτερον μετέχειν τοῦ ἀγῶνος τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἰσ[ολυμπίων] ἢ ἑπτακαὶ[δ]εκέτη· [καὶ μετεχέτω] σα[ν] ἀπὸ μὲν ἑπτακαίδεκα μέχρι τῆς εἴκοσι ἐτῶν

gories de *παῖδες*. Les règles à ce sujet varient suivant les concours ; elles ne sont pas les mêmes aux Olympia, aux Pythia et aux Isthmia,¹ et Suidas dit au sujet des Panathénées : *καὶ ἀγωνίζεται παῖς Ἰσθμικοῦ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀγένης καὶ ἀνὴρ*. Aussi mentionne-t-on fréquemment cette précision qu'une victoire a été remportée dans les *παῖδες Ὀλυμπικοί*² ou les *παῖδες Πυθικοί*³ ou les *παῖδες Ἰσθμικοί*. Dans un certain nombre de concours, il y a deux classes d'âges parmi les *παῖδες*, à la fois les *Πυθικοί* et les *Ἰσθμικοί* ; ainsi aux Erotideia de Thespies,⁴ aux Asklepia de Kos ;⁵ on pourrait dire alors qu'il y a une *πρώτη* et une *δευτέρα κρίσις* parmi les *παῖδες*, comme à Corinthe (n. 7). Les grands concours créés à l'imitation de ceux de la période, ainsi les Aktia de Nikopolis, ont eu leurs règles aussi sur les limites d'âge des *παῖδες* ; d'où l'existence des *Ἀκτιακοὶ παῖδες*. Un pancratiaste a vaincu dans un concours d'Antioche dans la catégorie des *Ἀκτιακοὶ παῖδες* (IG, XIV, 747, l. 24) ; de même à Alexandrie (*ibid.*, l. 27), *καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἱερὸν πενταετηρικὸν ἀγῶνα Ἀκ[τιακῶν παίδων] παγκράτιον*.⁶ Le nom de la Σεβ. κρίσις aux Sebasta de Naples doit être interprété de la même manière ; on aurait pu dire aussi Σεβαστοὶ παῖδες, de même que la catégorie des *Ἀκτιακοὶ παῖδες* pourrait être appelée *Ἀκτιακὴ κρίσις*.⁷ Nous connaissons aux Sebasta de Naples une autre catégorie de *παῖδες* ; Menandros d'Aphrodisias⁸ avait vaincu

ἡλικίας παίδων ἀθλήσεως ?], μετὰ δὲ ταύτην, ἀνδρῶν. Quelques inscriptions nous donnent des précisions sur l'âge des concurrents dans telle catégorie : IG, IV, 206 : *Α. Ἰούλιος Νεικόστρατος Σαρδιανὸς παῖς παλαιστῆς ἀσιονείκης, ἐτῶν ιη'* ; TAM, II, 302 (Xanthos) : *ἀγωνισάμενον παίδων πάλην ἐτῶν ις' καὶ μ(ηνῶν) δ'* ; 306 : *ἀγωνισάμενος ἀνδρῶν πάλην ἐτῶν εἴκοσι*.

¹ Th. Klee, *Zur Gesch. d. gymn. Agone* (1918), p. 48, fixe à peu près à 12-14 ans l'âge des *παῖδες Πυθικοί*, à 14-17 celui des *παῖδες Ἰσθμικοί*.

² *Sylloge*³, 1066, ll. 5-6.

³ Cf. provisoirement d'assez nombreux exemples dans *Rev. Phil.*, 1930, p. 46 (cf. *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, pp. 56 et 60).

⁴ SEG, III, 335 et 336. Le long fragment 335 vient d'être republié, comme inédit, par A. Keramopoulos, *Arch. Eph.*, 1936, *παράρτ.* 44. Sur le n. 336, cf. *Études Anatoliennes*, p. 141.

⁵ Th. Klee, *loc. cit.*, pp. 4-12.

⁶ Kaibel restitue *Ἀκ[τιακῶν ἀγνεύων]*, ce qui n'a pas de sens ; il n'y a pas plusieurs sortes d' *ἀγένης*. Franz supplée avec raison *Ἀκ[τιακῶν παίδων]*.

⁷ G. Wissowa, *Woch. Klass. Phil.*, 1897, p. 766, a reconnu qu'il s'agissait d'une classe d'âge : "so liegt doch die Vermutung nahe, dass ein Kaiser des 2. Jhdts. durch Stiftung neuer Kränze zu den bisherigen *ἡλικίαι* der *παῖδες* und *ἀνδρες* die dritte hinzufügte und diese Alterstufe zur Erinnerung an die kaiserliche Stiftung noch eine Zeit lang als *σεβαστὴ κρίσις* bezeichnet wurde, bis später der gewöhnliche Name *ἀγένης* auch hier eintrat."

⁸ Cf. plus haut, p. 239, n. 2.

Νέαν Πόλιν Σεβαστὰ παίδων Κλαυδιανῶν πανκράτιν ; il y avait des Κλαυδιανοὶ παῖδες à côté des Σεβαστοὶ παῖδες ; ceux-ci conservaient dans leur nom le souvenir d'Auguste en l'honneur de qui furent créés les Sebasta de Naples, ceux-là avaient été institués en l'honneur de Claude ¹ ; peut-être en faut-il rétablir la mention dans un fragment de liste de vainqueurs aux Sebasta. ²

Je crois qu'après ces explications on comprendra une inscription d'Éphèse, mal interprétée.

II. CIG, 2954 ; LW, 139 ; GIBM, 482 ; Sylloge³, 867 c. Vers 160, T. Aelius Marcianus Priscus a été ἀγωνοθέτης καὶ πανηγυριάρχης τῶν μεγάλων Ἀρτεμισίων. Il a obtenu du proconsul ἐκεχειρίας εἰς ὅλον τὸν ἐπώνυμον τῆς θεοῦ μῆνα ; ³ de plus il est loué pour les mérites suivants : καὶ τὴν Ἀρτεμισιακὴν κρίσιν καταστήσαντα καὶ τὰ θέματα τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς αὐξήσαντα καὶ ἀνδριάντας τῶν νικησάντων ἀναστήσαντα. Selon Hicks, la κρίσις serait la décision des juges qui attribuent les prix du concours ; il y aurait une délicate allusion à une augmentation du salaire des juges. ⁴ Dittenberger a vu qu'il s'agissait des concours : “ novo certamine adiuncto cui proprium nomen Ἀρτεμισιακὴ κρίσις.” On peut serrer de plus près : l'agonothète a institué une nouvelle catégorie de concours ; en l'honneur de la déesse il y a eu des Ἀρτεμισιακοὶ παῖδες, analogues aux Πυθικοὶ et aux Ἀκτιακοὶ παῖδες.

Je retrouve enfin le mot κρίσις dans deux autres inscriptions, n. 13 et 14, plus loin, p. 245 et 246.

Il reste à préciser d'où vient cet emploi de κρίσις au sens précis de “ catégorie d'âges dans les concours.” ⁵ Je ne crois pas que ce

¹ Cf. Liermann, *loc. cit.*, p. 95 : “ Denominatio igitur derivanda est ab imperatore Claudio, cuius memoriam Neapolitani propterea in ordine puerorum speciali retinebant, quia Claudius ipse in ludis Neapolitanis musicis gymnisque certavit necnon, cum anno 42 p. Chr. n. comoediam Graecam docuit, de sententia iudicum coronatus est.”

² IG, XIV, 755 b, ligne 2. On a : —λαυδ vacat Πανν— ; Kaibel : [K]λαυδ(ιος) Πάνν[υχος ?]. Mais il semble que les noms des vainqueurs soient aux lignes 1, 3 et 5, ceux des épreuves aux lignes 2, 4 et 6. On aurait alors peut-être : [K]λαυδ(ιανούς).

³ Cf. *Études Anatoliennes*, p. 178.

⁴ “ The words ἀρτεμισιακὴ κρίσις are obscure. Most probably the improvement in the κρίσις or adjudgment of the prizes which is thus delicately alluded to was the increased salary of the judges through the generosity of this ἀγωνοθέτης.”

⁵ On a signalé plus haut les erreurs commises par ceux qui y voyaient une mention du jugement et de l'attribution des prix (Kaibel, p. 241, n. 1 ; P. Foucart, p. 241, n. 2 ; Hicks, p. 241 et 243).

soit une restriction du sens de "concours."¹ Plutôt cela vient de la κρίσις initiale par laquelle on est admis à un grand concours et classé dans telle ou telle catégorie.

Trois inscriptions agonistiques nous fournissent le terme κριθείς.

1. A Mytilène : IG XII 2, 388 ; P. Wolters, *loc. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

Fig. 12 : 'Ανείκητος 'Ανεικήτου δῖς, δολιχάδρομος, νεικήσας ἐν Περγάμῳ 'Ασκληπεία β' καὶ ἐν Θυατείροις Τυρίμνεια, κριθείς ἐν Δελφοῖς, ἀγωνισάμενος Νέαν Πόλιν, 'Ακτια,² ζήσας ἔτη κ'.

2. A Samos : Guérin, *Description de Patmos et de Samos*, pp. 228-229 : Ἀδλον 'Οφέλλιον 'Αττικὸν—κριθέντα εἰς 'Ολύμπια τὰ ἐν Πείσῃ παίδων στάδιον,³ νεικήσαντα τὸν ἐπώνυμον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς βασιλείου θεᾶς 'Ηρας ἀγῶνα παίδων πάλην.

3. A Antioche de Pisidie : JRS, 1913, 294, n. 23 : Μᾶρ. Οὐείρειον Μαρκιανὸν νεικήσαντα παίδων πάλην ἀγῶνα Μαξιμιάνιον θέμδι τὸ δεύτερον ἢ πατρίς, δια(βι)βάσαντα κλήρους ζ', κριθέντα Πύθεια ἐν 'Αγκύρα καὶ ἀγωνισάμενον ἐνδόξως.

L'éditeur de ce dernier texte, J. G. C. Anderson, commente : "Κριθέντα means simply 'who was a competitor' ; cf. CIG, 2810 b [Aphrodisias ; ci-dessus, 239, n. 2], and CIG, 4472—[Laodicée ; ci-dessus, 240, no. 3]." Ce sens est arbitraire,⁴ et on ne voit pas pourquoi on aurait ajouté : καὶ ἀγωνισάμενον ἐνδόξως. Κριθείς signifie, je crois, que l'athlète a subi la κρίσις préliminaire aux Pythia d'Ancyre et a été admis à y concourir ; il a été "sélectionné."⁵ De même le stadiodrome Samien a été accepté aux Olympia dans la catégorie des παῖδες ; de même le dolichodrome Mytilénien aux Pythia de Delphes.⁶ Tous trois ont été vaincus,⁷ du moins ils avaient été admis à lutter à ces grands concours.⁸

¹ P. Wolters, *loc. cit.*, signalant l'emploi de κρίσις au sens de "Wettkampf" (cf. ci-dessus, 239, n. 3), ajoute : "Mitunter wird κρίσις aber auch noch in etwas engerer Bedeutung gebraucht, um einen bestimmten Abschnitt der Wettkämpfe zu bezeichnen. [Il renvoie aux inscriptions d'Aphrodisias et de Laodicée]. In der Inschrift aus Larissa . . . heisst es . . . also offenbar zwei Gruppen von Kämpfern."

² Il faut ponctuer entre les deux noms : il s'agit des Sebasta de Naples et des Aktia de Nikopolis.

³ Ponctué ainsi dans BCH, 1935, 485, n. 4.

⁴ Je ne comprends pas la valeur, pour établir ce sens, du rapprochement avec les deux inscriptions.

⁵ Cf. Eusèbe, *Chron.* (ed. Schöne, I, 200) : ἐκκριθείς παίδων πυγμῇν, "éliminé pour la boxe catégorie enfants."

⁶ P. Wolters, *loc. cit.*, p. 13, n. 27, écrivait : "Wie hier das κριθείς zu verstehen sei, zumal im Gegenstaz zu ἀγωνισάμενος, ist nicht klar. Das letztere muss doch wohl einen [For notes 7 and 8, see opposite page.

III. INSCRIPTIONS DE TROADE

Sterrett a publié autrefois, parmi les inscriptions d'Assos, un mince fragment d'une inscription agonistique : *Papers Amer. Sch. Ath.*, I (1885), p. 71, n. XLVII, "fragment of athlete inscription" :

· ΙΑΖ
 ΝΕΙΚΗΣ/
 ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙC
 4 ΠΑΥΛΙΑΙC
 ΣΕΙΓΙΝΡ
 ΙΨ

Il a restitué, aux lignes 2 et 3, *νείκησ[αντα ἐνδόξως | ἀνδρῶν] πανκράτιο[ν]*. Ce fragment se trouvait alors "in wall of mosque of Pademlee." Bademli ou Pademli, le "village des amandes," est situé à une quinzaine de kilomètres à l'Ouest des ruines d'Assos. Beaucoup plus proche est une autre ruine importante, le sanctuaire d'Apollon Sminthien près du village de Kulakli,¹ à environ six kilomètres en descendant un vallon, au Nord-Ouest. Du Smintheion

erfolglosen Versuch, also ein Unterliegen, bezeichnen, ersteres dann vielleicht einen zweiten Preis. Dass dergleichen angeführt wird, erklärt wohl das jugendliche Alter des Verstorbenen." Les trois athlètes dont j'ai réuni ici les inscriptions sont en effet des athlètes peu glorieux. L'inscription d'Antioche de Pisidie montre que *κριθέντα* ne peut signifier (ce qui serait d'ailleurs bizarre en soi) "ayant obtenu un second prix"; on a en effet la succession *κριθέντα καὶ ἀγωνισάμενον ἐνδόξως*. Si on dit du Mytilénien qu'il a été "admis" à Delphes, qu'il a "concouru" à Naples et aux Aktia, c'est que quelque circonstance l'a empêché de profiter de son droit à concourir; il a pu être malade—ou il a pu renoncer de lui-même devant des concurrents trop redoutables. L'expression technique pour l'abandon, c'est *παραιτεῖσθαι*. Un athlète, dans IG, XIV, 1102, déclare qu'il a vaincu dans tous les concours pour lesquels il s'est inscrit, *ὅσους ποτὲ ἀγῶνας ἀπεγραψάμην πάντας νεικήσας* (cf. *Rev. Phil.*, 1930, pp. 48-49); il spécifie alors, entre autres mérites, qu'il n'a pas été vainqueur ex-aequo (*μήτε συστεφανωθείς* (cf. *Rev. Phil.*, 1930, p. 28, n. 1), et il ajoute : *μήτε παραιτησάμενος* (je rapproche, à Antioche de Pisidie, JRS, 1913, p. 287, n. 12 : *Τιβ. Κλαύδιον Μαρκιανὸν νεικήσαντα πάλην, ὃν ἀποδυσάμενον παρητή[σ]αντο οἱ ἀν[ταγ]ωνισταί*) κτλ., *ἀλλὰ πάντας οὓς ποτὲ ἀπεγραψάμην ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς σκάμμασιν στεφανωθείς καὶ ταῖς προτείραις τούτων πάσαις δοκμασθείς*.

⁷ Cf. plus haut, p. 238.

⁸ Cf. à Hierapolis Kastabala, *ἐπὶ ἐγκριτῶν τῶν περὶ—*, avec le commentaire d'Heberdey, *Reisen in Kilikien*, n. 68 : "Richter, die über die Zulassung der Athleten zum Wettkampf zu entscheiden haben"; il rapproche les *ἐγκριτήριοι οἴκοι* de l'inscription de l'Isthme IG, IV, 203.

¹ Cf. *Antiquities of Ionia*, IV (1881), pp. 40 sqq. (avec la traduction d'une inscription qui est, me semble-t-il, restée inédite); Ad. Reinach, *Rev. Epigr.*, II (1914), pp. 40-45; W. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923), pp. 227, 241 sqq. (cf. *BCH*, 1926, pp. 501-510; *Rev. Phil.*, 1929, p. 133).

provenait l'inscription publiée par Sterrett ; car j'y reconnais, l. 4, le nom du concours des Παύλεια ou Παύληα. Je restitue : πανκράτιο[ν Σμίνθια] Παύληα. Une inscription copiée par Spratt à Kulakli¹ est celle d'un autre vainqueur à ces concours :

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ·
Φλάβιον Ἰούλ. Αὐρ.
Ἑρμῆν,
4 υἱὸν Ἰουλ. Αὐρ. Ἑρμοῦ,
νείκησαντα παίδων
πυθικῶν πάλην
Σμίνθεια Παύλεια.²

Les Smintheia Pauleia célébrées par la ville d'Alexandrie de Troade sont encore connues par une inscription agonistique, qui nous permettra de restituer la fin de la ligne 4. Lolling a publié ce texte copié par Koldewey à Kulakli (*Ath. Mitt.*, 1884, p. 72) :³

Αὐρ. Ὑγιανόν
[νείκ]ήσαντα παίδ[ων]
[πυ]θικῶν πάλη[ν]
4 [π]ανκράτιον Σμίνθι[α]
[Π]αύλε[ι]α Ἰσ[θ.] Πύθια
[κα]τὰ τὸ ἐξῆς, [Ἐφέ]σει[α Φλ.]
[Αὐ]ρ. Ὑγιανὸς τὸν υἱὸν oder υἱώ]-
8 [νὸν] ἀνέστησα. Ψ. Β.
[Ὑπ]ὸ παιδοτρίβην⁴ Ὀπ[πιον]
[Νώ]νιον Πέλοπα.

¹ *LW*, 1730 b (*IGR*, IV, 244). Republiée aussi, d'après un journal de Smyrne, dans le *Μουσ. Σμυρν.*, II (1876), 125 ; elle était alors conservée aux Dardanelles, ἐνθα μετηνέχθη ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου τῆς Τρωάδος Καλαφατλί. S'il n'y a pas eu de confusion entre Kalafathi et Kulakli, la pierre aura été portée en deux étapes de Kulakli aux Dardanelles par Kalafathi, village situé tout près des ruines d'Ilion. Autres pierres transportées du Sminthion ou des ruines mêmes d'Alexandrie aux Dardanelles : *LW*, 1035 et 1037 ; *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1903, p. 93 ; cf. *Inscr. gr. Coll. Froehner*, p. 60 (sur le commerce des antiquités aux Dardanelles, et le transport d'une pierre du Smintheion à Methymna).—Cette provenance a fait que Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 250, a cru que des Smintheia étaient célébrées à Ilion ; d'où Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 143 ; Pfister, dans Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Sminthia* (1927).

² La pierre est incomplète au bas ; ce que ne signalent pas les éditeurs des *IGR*.

³ L'inscription, mentionnant les Pauleia, eût dû être reproduite dans *IGR*, comme l'inscription 244 de ce recueil ; les éditeurs de ce Corpus ne l'ont pas connue.

⁴ Cf. *Études Anatoliennes*, p. 139, n. 1.

Selon les restitutions de Lolling, Hygianos aurait été vainqueur non seulement aux Smintheia Pauleia d'Alexandrie, mais encore aux Isthmia, aux Pythia de Delphes et aux Epheseia. Mais ces trois grands concours n'ont été introduits là que par deux corrections inacceptables. A la ligne 5, l'abréviation Ἰσθ(μια) éveille le soupçon. Or la copie porte : ΙΣΟΠΥΘΙΑ . M. P. Nilsson a reconnu l'épithète ισοπύθια .¹ Avant κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς , après ισοπύθια , il faut un chiffre, $[\beta']$ ou $[\gamma']$ par exemple.²

A la ligne 4 de l'inscription de Bademli, je restitue Παύληα ισ[οπύθια] . L'inscription, appartenant à la même série que les deux autres, doit dater aussi du II^e ou, plutôt, du III^e siècle. A cette époque tardive, il ne me paraît pas assuré que les Smintheia Pauleia aient conservé le souvenir de Paullus Fabius Maximus, proconsul d'Asie sous Auguste.³ Dans la *Colonia Alexandria Augusta Troa-densis*, il a dû y avoir bien des *Paulus*. Il peut s'agir, comme il se trouve à l'époque impériale, d'un évergète, qui a fait une fondation pour la célébration des Smintheia, et dont le nom est dès lors accolé à celui de la fête.⁴ Il est remarquable que les deux vainqueurs aux Smintheia Pauleia isopythiques dont nous savons le nom ne portent pas d'ethnique ; ils sont d'Alexandrie ; cela donnerait l'impression que les Smintheia attiraient les athlètes de la ville même. D'autre part les Smintheia ne sont pas nommées, à ma connaissance, dans les documents agonistiques trouvés en dehors d'Alexandrie. Mais un autre concours d'Alexandrie est connu au III^e siècle : les Pythia. Une inscription de Périnthe⁵ mentionne, entre beaucoup de concours, les Πύθια ἐν Τρωάδι , c'est-à-dire à Alexandrie⁶ ; l'inscription de la statue d'un aulète⁷, à Delphes, nomme aussi les Πύθια ἐν Τρωάδι . Il ne me semble guère possible que ces Pythia soient un autre nom des Smintheia isopythiques.

¹ *Griechische Feste* (1906), p. 143, n. 2. Mais il fait un contre-sens en rapprochant παίδων πυθικῶν .

² Remarquer d'ailleurs que les lignes 2 à 7 sont mutilées à droite.

³ Waddington : "sans doute appelés *Παύλεια* en l'honneur du proconsul d'Asie, Paullus Fabius Maximus qui les avait établis ou réorganisés" ; IGR : "ludi instituti in honorem Apollinis Sminthii et Pauli Fabii Maximi, cos. anno 11 a.C.n." ; H. Seyrig, *Rev. Arch.*, 1929, I, p. 95, n. 4 (liste des gouverneurs romains honorés d'un culte ; cf. L. R. Taylor, *Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, p. 37, n. 9, et mes *Inscriptions de Mylasa*).

⁴ Par exemple les Aphrodisieia Philemonieia à Aphrodisias.

⁵ IGR, I, 802.

⁶ Sur Τρωαδεύς = d'Alexandrie de Troade, cf. mes *Gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*.

⁷ *Fouilles Delphes*, III 1, 550, l. 29. Cf. *Rev. Phil.*, 1930, pp. 53-55.

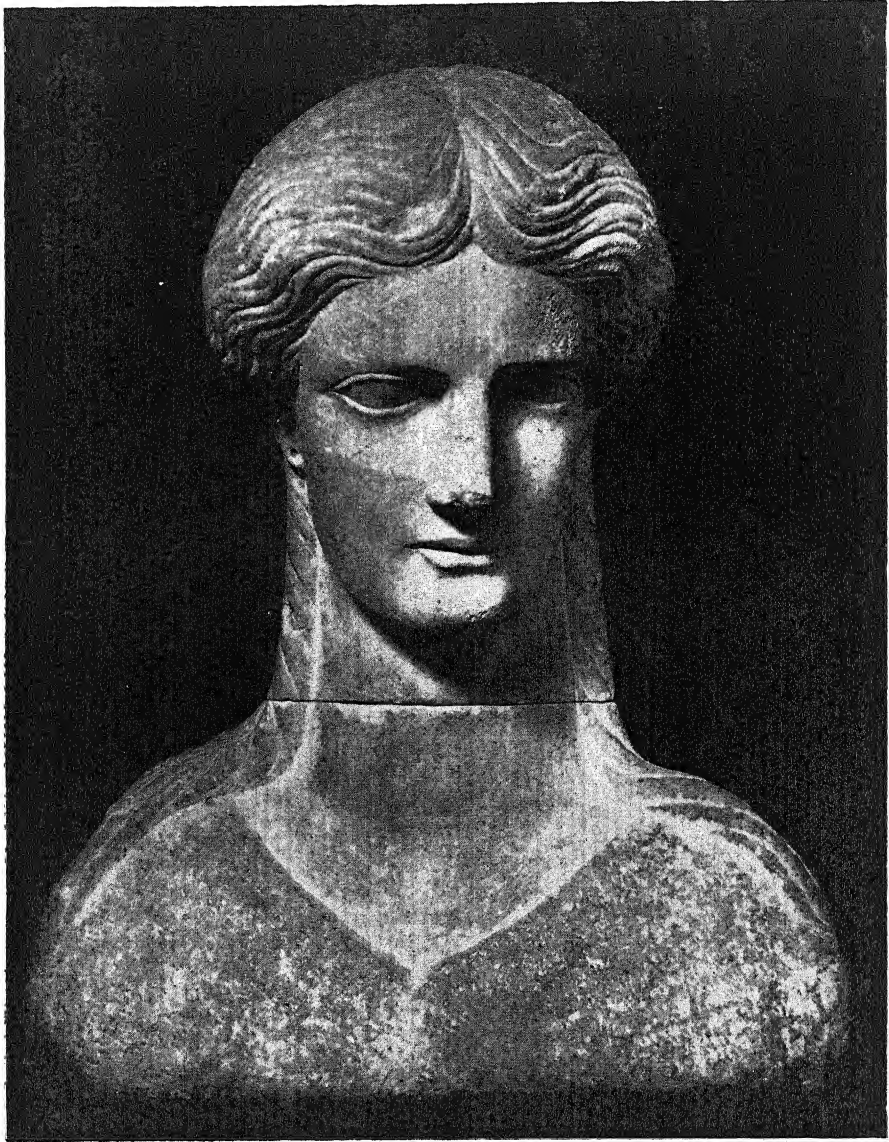
Dans l'inscription copiée par Koldewey, Lolling supplée, à la ligne 6 : [Ἐφέ]σει[α Φλ.]. Mais c'est une correction aussi brutale qu'inopportune. La copie donne : ΚΡΙΣΕΙ-Σ. Il y faut certainement reconnaître le mot *κρίσις*. Le terme a ici son sens agonistique.¹ Je le retrouve, à la même place, dans l'inscription de Bademli : Παύλεια ισ[οπύθια κρί]σει. Il semble qu'il était au datif. Dans l'une comme dans l'autre inscription la copie ne me permet pas de débrouiller les lettres ou les chiffres qui suivent *κρίσει*.

En définitive je reconstitue ainsi l'inscription du Smintheion transportée à Bademli:

2² νεικήσα[ντα παίδων ου ἀνδρῶν]
 πανκράτιο[ν Σμίνθια]
 4 Παύλεια ισ[οπύθια κρί]-
 σει ΓΙΝΡ.

¹ On ne peut penser à une formule comme *κρίσει βουλῆς κτλ.*, "par décision du conseil," s'appliquant à l'autorisation pour l'érection de la statue ; car on a, à la ligne 8, *Ψ(ηφίσματ)ι β(ουλῆς)*.

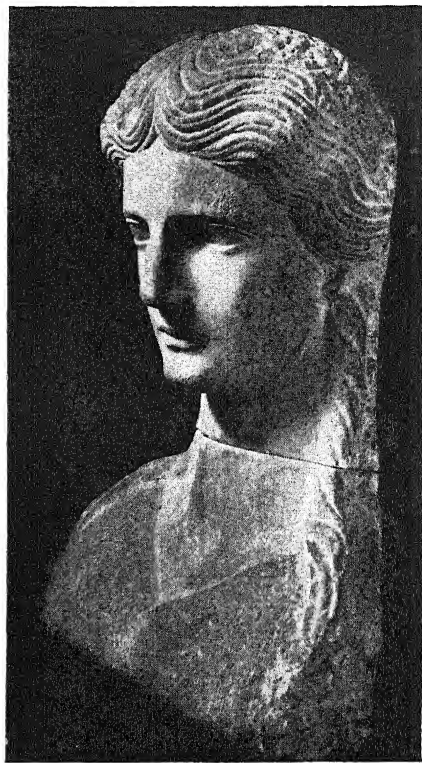
² A la ligne 1, peut-être : [τὸ]ν ἀξ[ιωλ(ογώτατον) τὸν δεῖνα].



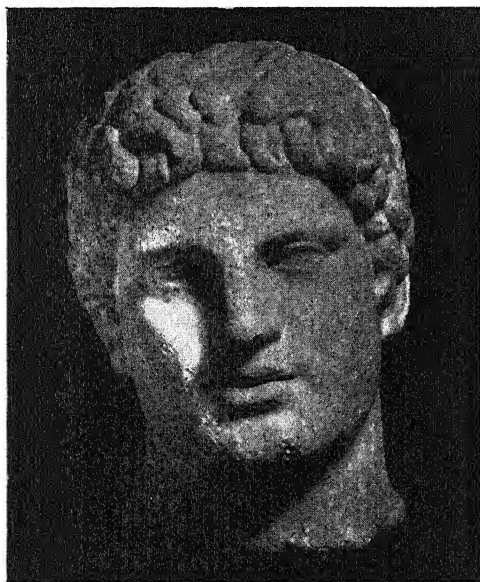
1. Roman Bust from Şar Üyük in Asia Minor. Now in Baltimore.



2. Profile of No. 1.



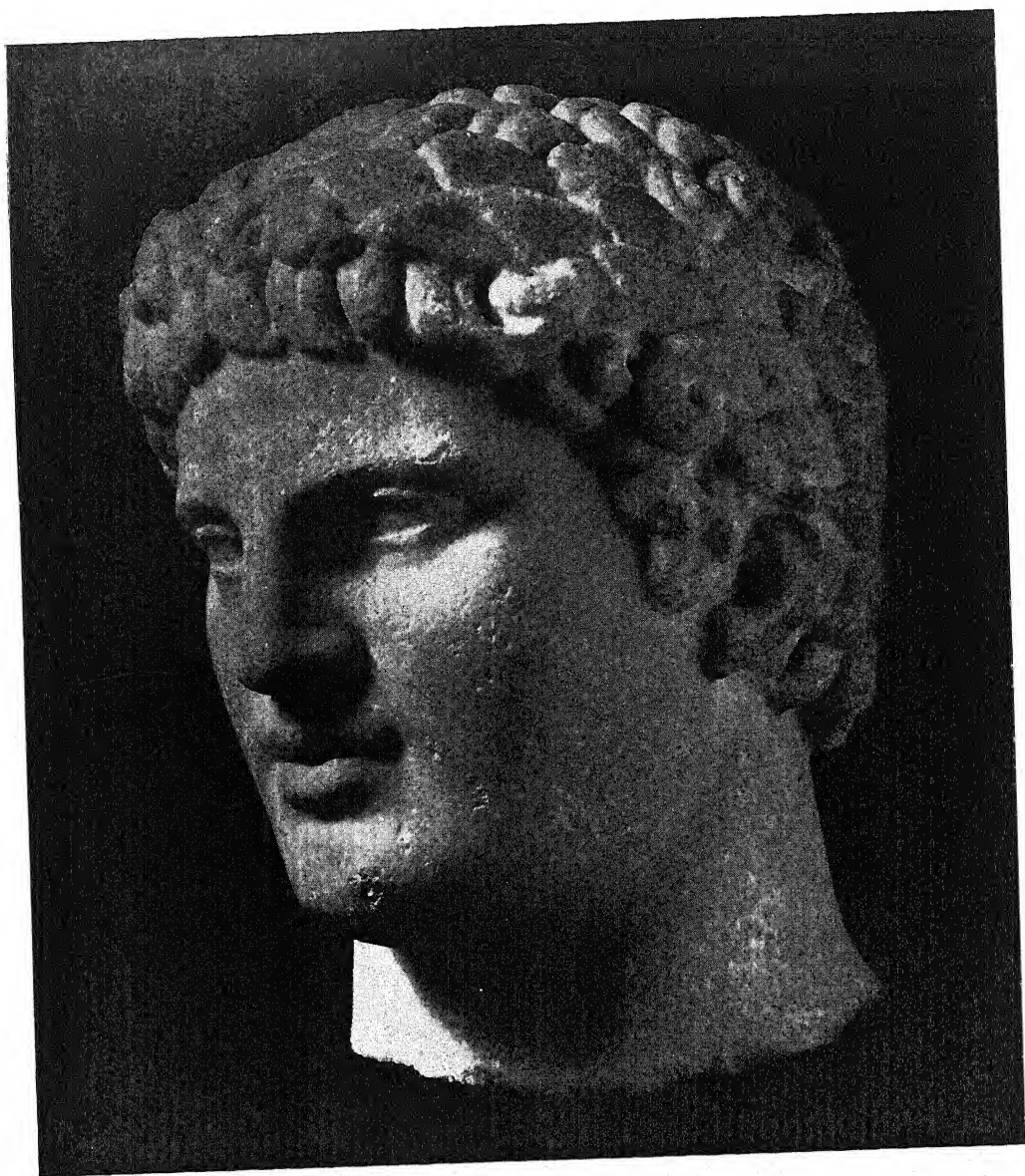
3. Side View of No. 1.



4. Head from Rhodes.



5. Profile of Head from Rhodes.



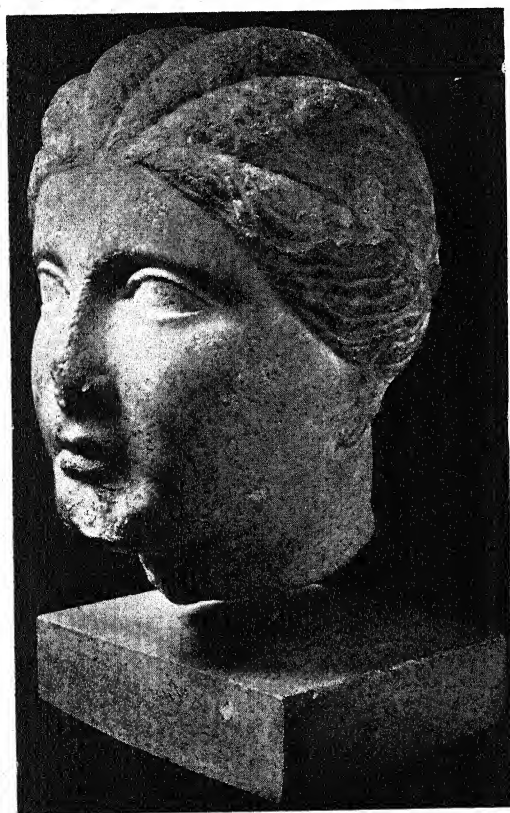
6. Head of Athlete from Rhodes. Now in Baltimore.



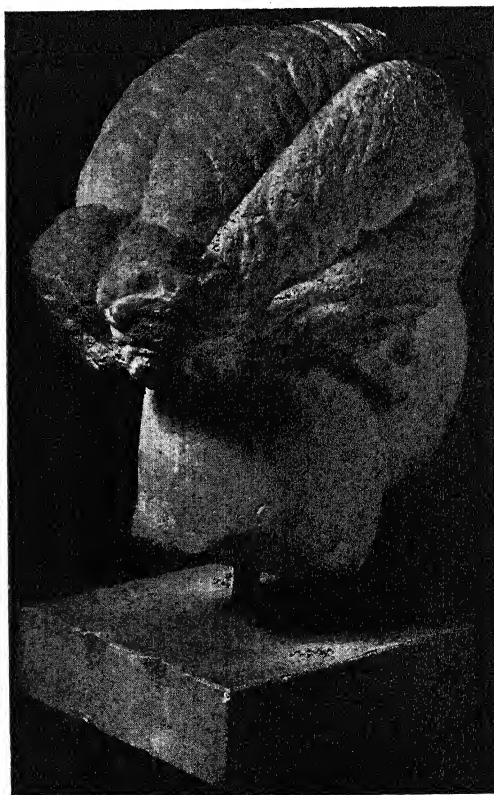
7. Back of Head from Rhodes.



8. Roman Head from Eskişehir.



9. Side View of No. 8.



10. Rear of Roman Head.

THREE MARBLE HEADS FROM ANATOLIA ¹

by DAVID M. ROBINSON

IN order to introduce variety into the volume in honour of William H. Buckler and not to overcrowd it with epigraphy, the editors have asked me to write on sculpture ; and this seems appropriate, since Dr. Buckler has devoted himself not only to inscriptions but to saving from destruction and loss many of the paintings (such as those of Cyprus) and many of the sculptures and other antiquities of Anatolia. I therefore take pleasure in dedicating to my generous friend and colleague, who has helped me in many ways for thirty-four years and with whom I have collaborated in exploratory expeditions and in publications, three marble heads in my collection. They are now in Baltimore where Buckler acquired his first absorbing interest in archaeology and where he was secretary of the Board of Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University, which owes its present location at Homewood mainly to Buckler's initiative and energy. These heads were secured many years ago. Two were said to come from Şar Üyük, near Eskişehir (the site of ancient Dorylaeum), and the other from Rhodes. The first represents a copy of Greek art of the transitional period, the second the third or second century B.C., the third the early Roman Republican period, in all of which periods Buckler, with his tremendous breadth of knowledge, was interested.

The first head ² (Pl. VI-VII, 1-3), of fine-grained Asia Minor marble, was brought to New York by a dealer. It was unfortunately sawn into two pieces for easier transportation, but there is no doubt of the genuineness or joining of the lower section. The bust

¹ I am indebted for helpful suggestions to Professor Frederik Poulsen, Director of the Ny-Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen.

² Dimensions : Complete height, 0.565 m. ; height from chin to top of head, 0.315 m. ; width of face at eyes, 0.16 m. ; width at bottom, 0.45 m. ; greatest thickness at bottom, 0.245 m. ; thickness of head, 0.26 m.

was probably used by itself or was part of a colossal statue which was never finished, as the upper part of the drapery, with the V-shaped neck was merely blocked out and the folds not yet carved or coloured. This would seem to prove also that the bust was sculptured in Asia Minor, as the marble indicates, and that it was not a Roman copy sent from Rome. The head is of especial interest because it is unique and because the majority of Greek statues, which have been preserved in Roman copies, belong to the best period of Greek art (450 to 350 B.C.). Copies of the art of the archaic and transitional periods are comparatively few; but there can be little doubt that the original Greek statue, from which our rather hard and mechanical copy was made in Augustan style but probably during the reign of Tiberius or Claudius, was some famous statue of Demeter or other goddess dating about 460-450 B.C. The treatment of the hair as a wig and with wavy stream lines, the majestic type of face with the combination of dignity and repose, the fact that the upper eyelid does not overlap the lower at the outer corners, are characteristics of Attic work of the middle of the fifth century B.C. The simplicity of the head, the high oval face, the long neck framed by the locks of hair which hang down at either side over the shoulders, the peaceful and reflective grandeur betray the origin in monumental sculpture. This is the portrait of no unimportant individual, but a local high lady who was perhaps a queen of some small country in Asia Minor.¹ The individualism of the profile view (Pl. VII, 2) indicates that it must be a queen or some one very important whose statue imitated that of a Greek goddess. Because of its colossal proportions, it might have been a portrait funereal statue² or a bust or a half statue³ or used for a grave-stele.⁴ The

¹ Cf., for example, the case of Adobogiona, the queen-mother of Deiotarus Philadelphus, who ruled in Paphlagonia about 36-31 B.C., and whose bust appears on coins, Reinach, *L'histoire par les monnaies*, pp. 151 ff.; *Recueil général des Monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*, I, pp. 126 ff.; Head, *Historia Numorum*², p. 509; *Klio*, X, 1910, p. 284. There are several other cases, but I am unable to identify our bust with any particular queen.

² Such as Collignon, *Les Statues funéraires dans l'Art Grec*, pp. 116, 158-163; Blümel, *Römische Kopien griechischer Skulpturen des fünften Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1931, R. 167, Pls. 53-54, pp. 27-29 and references there. Another copy found at Lappa and now in Retimo, Crete, is illustrated in *AJA*, XXXV, 1931, p. 378, Fig. 4. Some have even interpreted this statue as Demeter, and Miss Richter, Studniczka, and Amelung as Europa, *Jb. Arch. Inst.*, XLI, 1926, p. 249, n. 2. Miss Richter, *Bull. Metr. Mus.*, XX, 1925, p. 107, considers the inscription on the New York replica a later addition. It is of the type of the so-called Aspasia, *Öst. Jahresh.*, XXIV, 1929, Beiblatt, p. 49, Fig. 25,

[For notes 3 and 4, see opposite page.

unfinished top and back of the head, however, seem to show that the statue or bust was never meant to be seen from the rear. Either it must have been in high relief or more likely it occupied a high niche. If Demeter and not a mortal is represented, a veil in a separate piece of marble or in bronze was probably added, since Demeter is generally portrayed with a veil¹ (κατὰ κρήθην κεκαλυμμένη) as the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (182) says. But even a mortal can have her head veiled at the back, as has been shown in note 1. Of course it is possible that our bust is part of an acrolithic statue, and that the folds of the drapery as well as the veil were added in bronze or wood or even marble. Cf. *Arch. Anz.* 1937, pp. 51-57.

and related to the Hestia Giustiniani, as well as to the so-called Aspasia type. Cf. Blümel, *op. cit.*, K. 166, where the wavy hair, however, actually touches the outer eyelids. Whoever was represented in the Greek original of the second quarter of the fifth century B.C., about the time of Calamis and the original of our bust, the Roman copies portray a mortal rather than a goddess, as Collignon, *op. cit.*, p. 118, believes.

³ Such as Collignon, *op. cit.*, p. 180, Fig. 109, from a tomb at Eretria; p. 181, Fig. 110; p. 191, Fig. 117; p. 303, Fig. 191, a veiled head with hair waved over upper part of ears from Amorgos. Cf. such a terra-cotta bust, with no indication of folds in the drapery, as that from Grammichele in the museum of Syracuse, Pace, *Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia Antica*, II, 1938, p. 84, Fig. 82 (with wavy hair and side locks).

⁴ Such as, for example, the seated figure with veil on the back of the head in Collignon *op. cit.*, p. 143, Fig. 77. Cf. also, for example, a figure with waved hair and veil at the back on the grave-stele in Conze, *Attische Grabreliefs*, Pl. XXV. Such figures, however, are generally in profile.

¹ Cf. the somewhat similar veiled head of Demeter from Apollonia in Epirus and now in the Louvre, published in Heuzey et Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*, pp. 395-397, Pl. 32; also Heuzey, "Recherches sur les figures de femmes voilées," *Monuments Grecs*, I, No. 2, 1873, pp. 5-22, Pl. 1; No. 3, 1874, pp. 1-28 = *Louvre, Catalogue sommaire des marbres antiques*, 1922, p. 48, No. 828, Pl. XXVIII. The hair is parted in the middle and waved over the ears in somewhat similar fashion, and the general style of forehead, eyes, nose, mouth, chin, and neck is the same, though the head copies a fourth century B.C. model and is of a much later type than ours. Collignon, *Les Statues funéraires dans l'Art Grec*, p. 183, interprets it as the funeral bust of a mortal. On the whole subject of veiled figures, cf. also Miss Galt, *AJA*, XXXV, 1931, pp. 373-393. For veiled Demeters, cf. the Eleusis relief with traces of yellow on the veil (*Jb. Arch. Inst.*, XXXVI, 1921, Pl. I in colour); Berlin, No. 83, as pictured in Kekulé, *Die Griechische Skulptur*, p. 146; the Cnidian Demeter in the British Museum, Arndt-Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler Griechischer und Römischer Skulptur*, Pl. 65 = Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in British Museum*, II, 1900, pp. 203-204, No. 1300; *JHS*, IX, 1888, p. 34 (Stockholm); Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, Boston, 1925, No. 27, pp. 63-67; Kekulé, "Über Copien einer Frauenstatue aus der Zeit des Phidias," 57. *Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste*, Berlin, 1897, p. 29 (Eleusis relief), Pls. I-V (Roman copies of fifth century B.C. statues of Demeter in Berlin and Charchel). Cf. the Demeter with veil over back of head in Venice (dating about 400 B.C.) pictured in Anti, *Il R. Museo archeologico nel Palazzo Reale di Venezia*, p. 42, No. IV, 5. Cf. the fourth century B.C. head of a veiled Demeter from Delos in the National Museum at Athens (Kastriotis, *Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου*), 1908, No. 185; Kourouniotes, *Eleusis* (Eng. ed. 1936), p. 80, Fig. 30 (p. 84, Fig. 31, has wavy hair but polos instead of veil).

The earrings, which are indicated by the boring of the lobes of the ears, do not necessarily belong to an individual. On coins of Tarentum and Metapontum Demeter wears earrings.¹ But a queen or important individual can also wear earrings. The combination of sweetness and sadness, the forward inclination of the head, the long eyes, the somewhat triangular forehead, the small mouth with thin lips but beautiful breadth of cheeks, the high neck, all give an air of distinction to the face, which is accentuated by the parallel rippling undulations of the tresses of hair contrasted with the smoothness of the crown of the head. The expression of experience, the simple stern serenity emphasized by the rendering of the bone-structure in the cheeks with a projecting line midway between the eyes and the mouth leave little doubt that this is the representation of a queen, if not of a divinity. The flat broad surfaces of the cheeks which do not slope much toward the nose but are well modulated to give character to the countenance, the ears, the nearly straight line of the eyebrows at right angles to the broad flat nose, the mathematical dynamic symmetry of the head (but too narrow in proportion to the height), the conventional treatment of the eyes give a serious quality which recalls the transitional period of Greek art as contrasted with the so-called archaic "smile" of the sixth century B.C. The eyeballs do not bulge but the eyelids are sharply marked and prolonged, with the corners not yet overlapping as in the best Greek art. The ends of the lips are likewise prolonged but the lips themselves exquisitely carved. The lower protrudes in the centre, without being too flattened. There is a depression between the lower lip and the protruding broad chin which is sharply set off from the neck. In all these features our bust so closely resembles the so-called Farnese Hera in Naples² that the two probably

¹ Cf. Hadaczek, *Der Ohrschmuck der Griechen und Römer*, pp. 28 ff.; Noc, *The Coinage of Metapontum* (part 2, 1931), Pl. 25, 322, 323, where Demeter has veil and earrings. Cf. also for good examples in sculpture of goddesses with earrings, Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum*, frontispiece and Pl. XXXVI; the Roman copy of the Velletri Athena, the original of which dates from about the same time as our bust, Waldhauer, *Die Antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage*, III, 1936, No. 222, p. 6, Pl. VIII; No. 267, p. 33, Fig. 31, adapted from the Barberini Hera of the fifth century, with wavy hair covering top of ears and head and other features similar to those in our head.

² Arndt-Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler Griechischer und Römischer Sculptur*, Pl. 414. One is also reminded of such colossal heads with wavy hair as that of Hera, formerly in the Villa Ludovisi and now in the Terme, pictured in Mahler, *Polyklet*, p. 127, Fig. 38. Dr. Shear traces back also to the Farnese Hera the two or three heads discovered by him in the

must go back to the same style and period, even though they represent separate personalities and differ enough not to be replicas of the same original.

The hair and short lines of the eyebrows, eyelids, nose and mouth would indicate a bronze original of about 480-460 B.C. in Phidias' early period, or possibly a bronze statue in the studio of Calamis. The type is similar in forehead, eyelids, eyes, nose, mouth, cheek and high neck to the statue of Demeter in the Vatican,¹ which also can be traced back to a bronze original of Phidias' early work.

The colossal head of "Capitoline Juno" in Trier,² from the time of Claudius, is a good parallel with which to compare our head in the wig-like wavy hair, which Koethe calls Augustan. The wide-open eyes and the facial expression differ somewhat but portray an individual and not a goddess. Perhaps a better parallel is a portrait head in New York³ where the hair and eyes are stylized in the same old manner and there is much resemblance in the shape of mouth and chin. An individual is also probably meant in the marble head found in the House of Dionysus at Delos,⁴ which has the hair waved back over the ears as in our head, even though it resembles the coiffure of the Aphrodite found in the House of the Poseidoniasts of Berytus.⁵ The style of our head goes back to the time of the Olympia sculptures, the dancers of Herculaneum, the sphinx of Aegina, the Athena of Myron (c. 450 B.C.), or the original of the marble head from a herm with its wavy hair and severe type of dignified face and expression of repose, now in New York (c. 450 B.C.).⁶

The idea of waving the hair back to the ears occurs even in

Athenian Agora, *AJA*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 180, Fig. 9, and *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 12, Fig. 10. But they are only small relief heads attached to a marble slab, which served some decorative purpose in the Odeum of the first century B.C. They are not really a close parallel to our head. The ears are entirely exposed, the upper eyelid overlaps the lower at the corners, and there are no side-locks of hair hanging down over the shoulders.

¹ Arndt-Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 172; Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*², 1899, No. 304. Cf. also the Ludovisi Hera with wavy hair and side-locks, Arndt-Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 389.

² *Jb. Arch. Inst.*, L, 1935, p. 211, Fig. 14.

³ Cf. Lawrence, *Classical Sculpture*, Pl. 125b.

⁴ Cf. Chamonard, *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, VIII, p. 224, Fig. 100.

⁵ Picard, *Exploration arch. de Délos*, VI, p. 113, Fig. 96.

⁶ *Bull. Metr. Mus.*, IX, 1914, p. 65, Fig. 9. Cf. also the head of Zeus from Mylasa in Asia Minor, now in Boston, Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, pp. 59-61.

the sixth century B.C.¹ The style is continued through the first half of the fifth, but the upper part of the ear is not yet covered. Even in the head of the archaic statue in the Villa Borghese in Rome,² where the hair falls in locks over the shoulders, it is waved back from the central part and goes above the ear. The wavy hair is used in the Demeter in the Pharsalus relief in the Louvre³ (from the beginning of the fifth century), and in the Chatsworth Apollo,⁴ but there the ears are entirely exposed. This naturalistic flow, however, of waves of hair back over the ears seems especially to be the fashion about the time of the Olympia pediments and metopes,⁵ and it occurs frequently in Roman heads which are copies of that time.⁶ One is reminded also of the many heads which go back to a bronze original of the time of the original of the Hestia Giustiniani (Torlonia) or of the Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo in the British Museum, which Furtwängler attributed to the school of Calamis.⁷ The hair is waved closer to the corner of the eyes, but

¹ Cf. especially Payne-Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, Pls. 5, 18 (Hera of Samos type), 56, 75, 84 ("la boudeuse" with middle parting of hair), 89, 92; also the female head on the column of Ephesus as illustrated in Kekulé, *Die Griechische Skulptur*, 1906, p. 32.

² Arndt-Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler Gr. und Röm. Skulptur*, Pls. 261-262; Arndt-Lippold, *Einzel-Aufnahmen*, 2822. The eyes are somewhat similar, the upper eyelid not overlapping the under, but there is not the throwing of the eyes into shadow by bunching the flesh over the corners, a characteristic of later times. Cf. also the Artemis on the Actaeon metope from Temple E at Selinus now in Palermo, the stele of a girl with pigeons in New York, the "mourning Athena" relief, and especially the Athena on the Atlas metope at Olympia (cf. also the Alba head in Madrid, *JHS*, V, 1884, Pl. XLV, with its wavy hair), Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, Figs. 205, 206, 411, 414. Cf. also Aphrodite, with veil back of wavy hair, in Arndt-Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, text to Pl. 673.

³ Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, Pl. 10; Charbonneaux, *La Sculpture grecque au Musée du Louvre*, Pl. VIII.

⁴ Langlotz, *op. cit.*, Pl. 12. Furtwängler, *Intermezzi*, pp. 4 f., believed that both ears were originally entirely covered by hair, but cf. Wace, *JHS*, LVIII, 1938, pp. 90-95, Pl. VIII; Pryce, *Brit. Mus. Quar.*, XII, 1938, pp. 140-141, Pl. XLVIII. The head is an original of 470-460 B.C.

⁵ For the Athena in the Atlas metope with which compare our head, see Buschor-Hamann, *Die Skulpturen des Zeustempels zu Olympia*, Pls. LXXXIV-LXXXVI.

⁶ Cf., for example, Waldhauer, *Die Antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage*, III, 1936, Nos. 268 (original perhaps by Cresilas, form of forehead, eyes, nose, etc., of same style as in our head), 321, 326.

⁷ Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 81; Reinach, *Recueil de Têtes Antiques*, Pls. 38, 39; *Röm. Mitt.*, XV, 1900, p. 185; *Öst. Jahresh.*, XXIV, 1929, Beiblatt, p. 49, Fig. 25; Blümel, *Römische Kopien griechischer Skulpturen des fünften Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Berlin, 1931, K. 166, Pls. 51, 52, K. 168, Pl. 55, also has the style of 460-450 B.C. Cf. also the colossal veiled head of a goddess with long but narrow face and wavy hair in Naples, Reinach, *op. cit.*, Pl. 106; Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, Pl. 206. It is less severe than the "Aspasia" type but is a copy of the same general style of 460-450 B.C.

the veiled head, the forehead, the eyebrows, eyelids, eyes, nose, mouth and chin show such a similar style that the originals must date from about the same time in the fifth century. The head has generally been called *Aspasia*, but the original dates before 449 when she first came into prominence. The tradition of waving the hair over the upper part of the ears and not too close to the corners is continued in such heads as Berlin, K. 172, 176, K. 178,¹ which certainly are copies of heads of the early period of *Cresilas* or *Phidias*. Of course the covering of the upper part of the ear with the hair is common in the fourth century B.C.,² but then we have the triangular forehead, for example on the *Praxitelean* head in Boston published by *Caskey*,³ and many other features which are not in our head. The style of drawing the hair back over the ears lasts even into Roman times, as can be seen in the *Cyrene* head of *Agrippina*.⁴ But again compare such heads as the so-called portraits of *Sappho* ⁵ (though they often have a single or double curl in front of the ear), and especially such a head as that from *Corinth* which has the hair parted in the middle and a broad gently-waved mass passing to each side and covering the top of the ear. Professor F. P. Johnson ⁶ rightly says that the style of coiffure and of the head belongs to the third quarter of the fifth century B.C. The early fifth-century style of coiffure is well seen in a classical terra-cotta bust found at *Olynthus*, where there is a part in the middle of the forehead and the hair is brought down in simple waves across the top of the ear.⁷ A slight variation of the style with somewhat

¹ Cf. Blümel, *op. cit.*, Pls. 61, 67, 71.

² Cf. Berlin, K. 43, Blümel, *Die Griechischen Skulpturen des fünften und vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Pl. 51.

³ *AJA*, XX, 1916, pp. 383-390, Pls. XVI-XVIII; *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, No. 27, pp. 53-67.

⁴ Cf. Paribeni, *Il Ritratto nell' arte antica*, 1934, Pl. CXXXVI. The forehead, eyebrows, eyelids, eyes with the line at the corners, and other features are similar to those in our head. Perhaps the head dates from the time of *Agrippina*.

⁵ Robinson, *Sappho and her Influence*, pp. 110-113; Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, p. 9.

⁶ *Corinth*, IX (Sculpture), p. 133, No. 277. In *Art and Archaeology*, XIV, 1922, p. 225, it is wrongly dated in the fourth century B.C.

⁷ Cf. Robinson, *Olynthus*, IV (the Terra-cottas found in 1928), No. 409, Pls. 48-49. The wavy hair is especially characteristic of Sicilian and S. Italian marble heads and terra-cottas. Cf. Amelung, *Röm. Mitt.*, XL, 1925, pp. 190-201. Cf. Arndt-Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 293; Winter, *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*, 245, 7 (Berlin); Mrs. Strong, *Cat. of Collection of Lord Melchett*, No. 38; *Not. Sc.*, XVII, 1920, p. 83, Fig. 19; *Arch. Anz.*, XVIII, 1903,

similar waves which, however, leave most of the ears exposed is seen in copies of another female statue of about 460-450 B.C., of which there are more than thirteen copies of the head.¹ Not only the hair but the eyebrows and eyes, the nose and cheeks remind one of our head, but the upper eyelid overlaps the under at the corners, and the flesh of the eyebrows is not brought down so much over the eyes as in our head.

These heads certainly also go back to a bronze original of about the time of the Olympia sculptures, as is suggested by the rendering of the hair and the precision of workmanship. The original would date from the same time as the original of our head. The fact that the ears are partly covered does not argue for a later date. The ears of the Hippodamia in the east pediment of the Zeus temple at Olympia are completely covered.² On the "Ludovisi throne" in the section in Rome Aphrodite has the upper part of the ear instead of the lower showing.³ On the Parthenon frieze Hera and the maidens have their ears partly concealed. The same is true of the Amazons and other female figures in the Phigaleia frieze and of Polyclitus' Amazon.⁴ But our head goes back, as we have said, to the time of the Olympia pediments and metopes of the Zeus temple. Another parallel to our head is that of a canephorus (No. 97) in the Villa Albani.⁵ It is one of a series of more than nine heads which are copies of some bronze which Sieveking would date about

p. 30; XLIV, 1929, p. 154, Figs. 51, 52; *Olynthus*, IV, Pl. 50, 409 G and H; Ashmole, *Late Archaic and Early Classical Greek Sculpture in Sicily and South Italy*, Pl. XVIII, pp. 75-77 (Selinus). The "Tête Humphrey Ward" (Charbonneaux, *La Sculpture grecque au Musée du Louvre*, Pl. IX) is also from S. Italy. It has wavy hair, completely covering the ears. The upper eyelid does not overlap the under, and it dates somewhere before our head (c. 470 B.C.). Cf. also Pace, *Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia Antica*, II, 1938, pp. 65-67, Figs. 68-70 (heads of Siceliote type with wavy hair in Rome).

¹ Cf. Miss Richter, *Bull. Metr. Mus.*, XXVI, 1931, pp. 95-96, Figs. 1-4 (p. 96, n. 5, Miss Richter gives a list of replicas). For the type cf. especially *Bullettino della commissione archeologica comunale*, XXV, 1897, pp. 169 ff., Pls. 12-14; Anderson, photo 24222 of the head in the Lateran; Lawrence, *Classical Sculpture*, Pl. 38a, or Paribeni, *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*², 1932, pp. 92, 93, No. 130. Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 190, No. 499, for another head with wavy hair, which also harks back to the temple of Zeus at Olympia. Cf. also *Einzel-Aufnahmen*, 2115, 2116, 2232, 2233.

² Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, Fig. 393.

³ *Ibid.*, Fig. 474.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Figs. 655-656.

⁵ Helbig, *Führer*³, No. 1835; Alinari, photo 27592; Sieveking, in Lippold-Arndt-Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler Gr. und Röm. Sculptur*, Pl. 698, p. 8, Figs. 15 and 16. Pp. 9-12 discuss the characteristic wavy frisure, and p. 12 cites Waldhauer. Cf. also Arndt-Lippold, *Einzel-Aufnahmen*, 3535, 3536.

460 B.C. and attribute to an Argive sculptor. Waldhauer assigns it to the Ionian school of South Italy. Buschor also has discussed the type, and gives a list of copies after Argive works which show a tectonic constructive style and are related to the Olympia sculptures.¹ Our head has the same mathematical schematization of form.

Long strands of hair in regular elegantly waved outlines surround the forehead and temples, and this symmetry of slanting and curving lines continues even in the hair at the side of the neck. These long curls falling on each side of the neck seem to be unique, and I am unable to parallel them in classical marble sculpture, but one may find something of the kind, not entirely similar, in terra-cottas.² The real character of the hair is almost forgotten and the frisure resembles a tectonic crowning. The ridges of the hair are rounded off as in all the figures in the sculptures of the Zeus Temple at Olympia. The forms of the cheek bones are distinctly marked as in the head of Athena in the Olympia metope mentioned above. In fact our head resembles that in many ways, even in the depression at the top of the nose, in the cheeks, mouth and chin. The depression between the cheek-bone and the risorius is well indicated in the metope head as in ours. In all the heads from the temple of Zeus at Olympia the upper eyelid does not project and is not prolonged over the under eyelid. The eyelids join completely at either angle, where in our head even a depressed line continues the juncture. This is a very definite difference between the sculptures of the Zeus Temple at Olympia and the frieze of the Parthenon, and marks the original of our head as dating before 450 B.C., to which the elements of hardness and severity in our head all point. These features, especially this general type of wavy coiffure, are characteristic of the

¹ Cf. Buschor-Hamann, *Die Skulpturen des Zeustempels zu Olympia*, pp. 34-35.

² Cf., for example, Vagn Poulsen, *Acta Archaeologica*, VIII, 1937, p. 55, Fig. 33 (a terra-cotta figurine from Thebes in Athens, Inv. 3979, dating 460-450 B.C.). A possible parallel to the side-locks is a colossal head of great serenity and dignity from the temple of Pythian Apollo at Gortyna in Crete, illustrated in *Mon. Ant.*, I, 1889, p. 73. But this seems to date from Roman times as does the head of Aphrodite from Aphrodisias, illustrated in *AJA*, X, 1906, p. 338, Fig. 1. The formation of the frontal face and the shoulder locks of hair in *Einzel-Aufnahmen*, 4155 (a head in Copenhagen with wavy hair), point to the classicistic art of the Claudian Era. Cf. also *Amelung-Festschrift, Antike Plastik*, 1928, p. 57. In *Clara Rhodos*, V, 2, pp. 160-161, Figs. 38-39, is a Demeter from Cos with long strands of hair reaching to the shoulders on either side. It dates from the second half of the fourth century B.C., but is not an exact parallel.

period 460-450 B.C.¹ The upper part of the ear is often covered even in the fourth century by wavy hair, as in the seated figure in the Vatican restored as Euterpe,² with strands of hair waved back over the top of the ear in contrast with the simple linear arrangement on the crown of the head and the sweet expression of the face (from the beginning of the fourth century), as in the Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles,³ in the head of a girl from Cos⁴ and many other works. In Hellenistic times it is often found as in the sleeping Ariadne⁵ in the Louvre, but the hardness and severity of expression and even the tectonic arrangement of the hair are lacking in these more intimate and human figures.

In view of all that has been said above, it seems to follow that our head is a Roman copy, from the time of Tiberius, of some Greek bronze statue which dated between 460 and 450 B.C. The Roman copyist probably added the curls on the sides of the neck, which are so characteristic of the time of Augustus and Tiberius and do not occur in Greek sculpture,⁶ as we have said above (p. 257).

¹ Cf. the many heads and statues already cited above, especially those in n. 1, p. 255, the "Aspasia" type, the Herculeum dancers, the Albani head (*Einzel-Aufnahmen*, IIII-III2), and such heads as that of the Chiaramonti 363 illustrated in *Röm. Mitt.*, I, 1886, Pl. XI. A female head from a fifth-century Attic relief in the National Museum at Athens also has wavy hair and resembles the heads in the metopes of Olympia, Kastriotes, *Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου*, 1908, No. 1949. I don't mean to say that all the heads with wavy hair are to be compared with our head, but I have cited the many references to show the general history of heads with wavy hair.

² Cf. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, III, p. 191, No. 587, Pl. 52.

³ Cf. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, Figs. 668-671.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Fig. 687.

⁵ Charbonneaux, *La Sculpture grecque au Musée du Louvre*, Pl. XLIV. Cf. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, Pl. LIX, 2 (fourth century B.C.), LIX, 5-6 (late Hellenistic). Even in Roman times one finds the custom continued of waving the hair back over the top of the ears, cf., for example, Lawrence, *Classical Sculpture*, Pl. 125b (head of a girl in New York from the time of Augustus), and the portrait statue of a Roman lady from Cyrene (Louvre, Salle d'Afrique, No. 1780), where such a head is combined with a copy of the so-called greater Herculeum lady, Bieber, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechischen Tracht*, Pl. 50, 1. A somewhat similar wavy coiffure lasts even into the third century A.D., cf. *Jb. Arch. Inst.*, L, 1935, p. 221, Fig. 27 (a child's head in Trier). Marg. Stephan in *RE*, Suppl. VI, s.v. Haartracht, p. 98, Abb. 15, says, "Ein Kennzeichen der Haartracht der Antonine ist das Seitenhaar, das vom Mittelscheitel bis über die Ohren herabgekämmt wird," but it can be used long before the second century A.D. In *Jb. Arch. Inst.*, L, 1935, p. 212, with regard to a head of Juno in Trier with similar wavy hair to ours, Koethe says, "Die Frisur ist augusteisch, der Stil eher etwas jünger." Hofmann, in *Schumacher Festschrift*, p. 243, calls the more stylized wavy hair which develops into the "Melonenfrisur" of our third head, "Claudisch." So our head may be from the Augustan period or more probably from that of Tiberius.

⁶ Cf., for example, Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, 201, 207b, 211, 212, and above all 213.

What that statue was it is impossible to say with certainty. It would be contemporary with the so-called Velletri Athena, the original of which has been assigned by some scholars to Cresilas.¹ It would also be contemporary with the so-called "Aspasia"² type mentioned above, and with the Aphrodite Sosandra of Calamis which stood in the Propylaea on the Athenian Acropolis.³ Scholars have recognized, but with no certainty, copies in such heads as that in Venice and the Louvre⁴ and in the statue in Berlin mentioned above. We know that the Sosandra had her head covered, and that the face showed reverence or respect (*αἰδώς*) and a noble unconscious smile, *τὸ μειδιάμα σεμνὸν καὶ λεληθός*,⁵ much dignity, delicacy and charm, *λεπτότης καὶ χάρις*.⁶ An association of our head with Calamis, who did colossal statues,⁷ seems more likely than with Cresilas, although Cresilas did dedicate at Hermione⁸ a statue to Demeter. We know of no statue of Demeter by Calamis,

¹ Cf. Anti, *Guida del R. Museo archeologico nel Palazzo Reale di Venezia*, p. 47, No. V, 5, and p. 61, No. V, 20, for two good busts which show the hair waved back over the top of the ears and the same general type of long and narrow face.

² Collignon, *Les Statues Funéraires*, pp. 116-118, Fig. 59, thinks that the Berlin statue was not Aspasia or Demeter but a funerary statue, "telle que pouvait la concevoir un contemporain de Calamis," "le prototype de ces effigies de femmes voilées qui se dressaient sur les tombes du IV^e siècle." Cf. Studniczka, *Kalamis*, p. 18. Patroni identifies the Berlin type with Sosandra, *Rendiconti dell'Accad. di Archeologia di Napoli*, 1905. He even thinks our Olynthus bust (cf. p. 255, n. 7) represents Sosandra, *Athenaeum*, IX, 1931, pp. 324 ff.

³ If the statue of Aphrodite dedicated by Callias in the Propylaea and mentioned by Paus. I, 23, 2, is the same. A torso and a head with wavy hair and side-locks were found in the Propylaea, *JHS*, X, 1889, pp. 264-265, Fig. B, now in Payne-Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, Pl. 89, No. 688. It really is early classical and not archaic as Payne says (p. 40), but probably is too early for Sosandra of Calamis, though it resembles his style. There is an original female bust in Boston which Caskey (*AJA*, XL, 1936, p. 308) says "recalls the Sosandra," but Crome and Langlotz think it is a forgery, cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, LX-LXI, 1935-36, p. 303, n. 3.

⁴ Anti, *Guida del R. Museo archeologico nel Palazzo Reale di Venezia*, p. 25, No. III, 4. It is quite similar to Charbonneaux, *La Sculpture grecque au Musée du Louvre*, Pl. IX. Cf. also *Musée Nat. du Louvre, Cat. sommaire des marbres antiques*, 1922, p. 43, No. 3106. I have also noticed in the archaeological museum at Venice a female bust with wavy hair and veil over the back of the head, which is a replica of the "Aspasia" type and similar to our head in many respects, although of course a Roman copy of a different statue. Cf. also *Einzel-Aufnahmen*, 2659. A head with wavy hair but leaving the ears exposed, which is in Cleveland, has been published by Fowler in the *Festschrift für James Loeb*, pp. 62-65, as an original Greek work, possibly by Calamis, but it has a very different expression from our head and other heads generally attributed to Calamis. Cf. also the female head from Selinus with wavy hair but ear exposed in *Festschrift für Berndorf*, pp. 121-124, Pl. VI.

⁵ Lucian, *Eikónes*, 6.

⁶ Dion. Hal., *De Isocr.*, p. 522, R.

⁷ His Apollo at Apollonia on the Black Sea was 30 cubits high, Strabo, VII, 319; Pliny, *NH*, XXXIV, 39; Appian, *Illyr.*, 30.

⁸ Löwy, *Inchriften Griechischer Bildhauer*, No. 45.

but the Sosandra type with its veil might easily have been adapted in later times, when an Aphrodite with covered head would be out of place. In any case we seem to have in Baltimore a Roman copy of some great statue of the transitional period of Greek art, belonging to the Attic rather than the Argive or Ionian school of sculpture. Till further evidence comes to light, it is better to leave the original unnamed, though it seems to be, as has been said above, a portrait of some local queen in Asia Minor at the time of Tiberius, idealized in the style of Greek art of the fifth century B.C.

The second head (Pl. VII-IX, 4-7) to be considered takes us from the severity and reserve of the transitional period of Greek art to the more human and expressive sculpture of the fourth or third century B.C. It is a life-like original, not a Roman copy. It comes from Rhodes¹ and finds its best parallels in other Rhodian heads. It is of Parian white marble with a grayish tone so coarse that one can see the crystals even in the photographs. It is well preserved, except for a few nicks and marks of corrosion which, however, have not destroyed in any way the original polish or its yellow patina. Even the tip of the nose is intact. The head was undoubtedly not part of a herm or bust but part of a statue, as the break at the bottom of the neck and the muscles show, probably of an ideal young athlete.

The forceful freshness of the face, the very careful modelling of the features, the free treatment of the hair, but above all the expressive rendering without any trace of mechanical workmanship such as so often appears in Roman copies of bronze Greek statues, prove that this is an original head of good quality. The wreath of two rows of leaves points to an athlete, a pugilist, or more probably a wrestler, as the relative thickness of the neck and lack of bruises on the face would indicate.² The head is turned slightly to its right and the eye has a vacant dreamy look which is reminiscent of Praxiteles. The head and massive skull are of the brachycephalic type, with a cephalic index of about 79, quite like the head in the Fogg Art Museum, which forms such a close parallel that I almost

¹ Acquired in Chicago many years ago from a man who had brought it from Rhodes. Height, 0.262 m.; width, 0.207 m. from chin to top of head; depth from front to back, 0.224 m.

² Fraser, *AJA*, XXIX, 1925, p. 70: "The sport of wrestling, more than any other, tends to develop this part of the frame" (the neck).

venture to conjecture that it too came from Rhodes or at least represents the Rhodian school of sculpture.¹ Fraser's description of it almost fits our head ² (Pl. VII, 4), "a flattened crown, and having the summit of the skull in a straight vertical line with the top of the ear." It is decidedly well-domed, and if not an aristocratic type, it is very Praxitelean.

The hair is carved as a mass of irregular curving locks with considerable variety and having grooves or ridges in the middle. Six such isolated locks hang down below the wreath straight over the forehead, like bangs (Pl. VIII, 6). At either side (Pl. VII-VIII, 5, 6) over the temples are two curving locks and in front of the ears another grooved lock. Five or six project down on the neck at the back below the wreath (Pl. IX, 7). Three others on the back of the head come down over the leaves of the wreath below the other three big locks, above which several radiate, like the tentacles of a starfish, from the flattened centre of the crown, exactly as in Professor Shear's head cited below. The thick solid clumps of hair give the effect of a wig just as in the Fogg Museum head, which also exposes only a small portion of forehead.

The forehead (Pl. VII, 5) shows the frontal ridge or so-called "bar of Michelangelo" and the horizontal groove above it, features which occur also in the Fogg Museum head and are rarely used before the time of Praxiteles. Eyes, eyebrows, mouth, and chin are asymmetrical. There is a slight bunching of the flesh at the outer corners of the sharply cut eyebrows, reminding one a little of Scopas. The eyelids project and the upper eyelid does not actually overlap the under as in the head in the Fogg Art Museum. Perhaps this is an attempt to introduce a fifth-century archaism into the head, but the unusually small eyes and the depth around them and especially at the corners are characteristic of the fourth century.

The nose is short, depressed a little at the top, with the opening

¹ Cf. Chase, *Fogg Art Museum Notes*, I, 1921, pp. 5-8, Fig. 5; Chase, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in American Collections*, p. 97, Fig. 113; *AJA*, XXVI, 1922, pp. 204-205, Fig. 2; Fraser, *AJA*, XXIX, 1925, pp. 70-75, Pl. II and Fig. 1; Lawrence, *Classical Sculpture*, p. 242, Pl. 78b. Fraser dates it at the close of the fifth century, not a work of Cresilas himself but "almost certainly a product of some distinguished disciple," "a member of the school in the Argolid." Chase and Lawrence date it in the early years of the fourth century, and this seems more likely. I should date it toward the end of the fourth century B.C. It is earlier than our head but is surely not of the fifth century, and is Attic or Rhodian rather than Argive.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 71.

of the nostrils indicated. It is broad and flat along the ridge. The sharp lines of the eyebrows curve into the edges of the nose, the sides of which slope at an angle into the cheeks. The cheek-bones are fairly prominent. The naturalistic and full cheeks themselves are well modelled but somewhat flat. There is, however, more variety than in the fifth century. The mouth is small; both lips are thick and sensuous, widely separated. They are carved with great delicacy, however, and the boring drill applied at the corners. There is a depression between the lower lip and the well-rounded chin. The juncture of neck and jaw is marked by a decided line and not too well rendered, but the muscles of the large neck are marked and indicative of a powerful athlete. The ears seem to be placed a little too low and are unusually small. They are sketchily done, rounded like a big ridged lock of hair. The lobe clings closely to the head, but the helix and depth of the inner ear are well differentiated. The right ear seems to be slightly swollen.

The face has a pleasant and intelligent, reflective expression. It is not individualized enough for us to name the ephebe who is here portrayed. One feels that the head is an eclectic idealized combination of fifth-century simplicity with the sweetness and dreaminess and narrow eyes of Praxiteles, with the Scopasian shape of head¹ and sinking of the inner corners of the eyes, the bulging of the lower part of the forehead, and parting of the lips and certain characteristics of Lysippus, such as the forehead, eyes, lips, relative smallness of the head, and turning of the head to the side. Lysippus was himself active at Rhodes and established his pupils there. The heads of his Agias and Apoxyomenos also have a grouping of separate locks about the crown, and similar ears, eyes, and mouth. The result is a forceful, individual but pleasant and gentle expression, in its refinement and softness quite different from the restrained severity and dignity and noble generalization of fifth-century heads, but one which places this head with its emotional appeal and human charm in the ranks of original Greek sculpture. It keeps many of the best features of fifth-century art, especially its simplicity. The axis of the face is not a straight line and the sides of the face vary

¹ Cf. Neugebauer, "Studien über Skopas," in *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, XXXIX, 1913, pp. 41 ff. Cf. also the Lansdowne Heracles to which our head has a certain similarity, Gardner, *Six Greek Sculptors*, Pls. LVI-LVIII; Shear (*AJA*, XX, 1916, p. 298) assigns it to Lysippus.

as do the eyes and the eyebrows, but this asymmetry and variation only add to the charm of the Rhodian head. I should date it toward the end of the third century B.C. and assign it to the Rhodian school,¹ somewhat later than the Colossus of Rhodes which took twelve years to build (293-281 B.C.). Who is represented or who was the sculptor I am unable to conjecture. I feel that it is from the same school as the earlier head in the Fogg Museum, which seems to me to be of the same general style and not an Argive work of the school of Cresilas, certainly not a fifth-century head. There is a similarity in forehead, eyes, nose, lips, and chin to such fifth-century heads as that of the Ares of "Borghese" type,² but these features are combined with too many fourth-century characteristics to allow us to date either head so early. A comparison with the beautiful bust of an athlete in the Metropolitan Museum³ shows a similar rounded back skull and oval face with projecting lower forehead and dreamy half-closed eyes. That head has affinities with the Hermes of Praxiteles, and ours seems to me to show Praxitelean influence. One could apply to our head Miss Richter's words:⁴ "While its lines are distinctly those of a well-developed, virile youth, the expression of the face is gentle, appealing, almost sentimental, an effect produced consciously by the artist through the slightly up-turned corners of the mouth, and the dreamy half-closed eyes, while its charm is heightened by the low irregular forehead and the row of graceful little curls which crown it."

Another close parallel to our head, even closer than the Fogg Museum head, is a head from Rhodes in the possession of Professor Theodore Leslie Shear, and published by him in the *American Journal of Archaeology*.⁵ The hair is very similar, except on the forehead, where it is brushed up to give the idea of flames or the rays of the

¹ For the Rhodian school of sculpture cf. van Gelder, *Geschichte der alten Rhodier*, 1900, pp. 379 ff. He says: "Die rhodische Bildhauerschule hat etwa dreihundert Jahre bestanden." Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et des Lettres de Danemark*, 1907, p. 23, give the names of at least seventy-four artists. Cf. also the Helios head in *Strena Helbigiana*, 1900, pp. 99-110; and *Clara Rhodos*, II (Maiuri, *Monumenti di Scultura del Museo Archeologico di Rodi*); V, ii, 1 and 2 (Jacopi, *Monumenti di Scultura*), 1931-32.

² Lawrence, *Classical Sculpture*, Pl. 69b.

³ Richter, *Bull. Metr. Mus.*, XI, 1916, pp. 82-84; *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, Fig. 208; Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art*, p. 168, Pl. 20. Hyde does not include in his excellent book the head in the Fogg Art Museum.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 84.

⁵ XX, 1916, pp. 283-298.

sun.¹ The locks are likewise separated by deep grooves and curl now to left, now to right, to avoid monotony. This variety Professor Shear² rightly attributes to "a conscious effort to emphasize the interplay of light and shade, the effect of which is more fully realized when it is remembered that the statue, of which this head was a part, stood in the open air and probably in the bright sunshine that for most of the year blesses the fortunate isle of Rhodes." Our head may also have depended for much of its effect on the use of the colour as well as out-of-door light. The forehead, the small eyes, the short broad flat nose, the protruding locks of hair in front of the ears, the flat but full cheeks, the narrow mouth with parted lips (the lower with its moderately deep roll outward), the rounded chin, the inclination of the head to the right, and especially the flat crown of the head (as said above) are as in our head. The flat and slender ears with ridge in the middle and deep centre, framed by locks of hair and with lobes adhering to the cheek, are almost a replica of those in our head. Shear concludes that his head was "a work executed in the fourth century by a Rhodian artist who was strongly influenced by Lysippus and who, probably, made a statue of Helios of the Rhodians after the manner of the masterpiece created by Lysippus for Rhodes." The deep boring in the hair and in the centre of the ear seem to preclude for Shear's head so early a date. In view of the resemblance of our head to the Shear head, I am inclined to believe that both heads are eclectic works influenced by Scopas, Praxiteles, and Lysippus, but carved by the same Rhodian sculptor about the end of the third century B.C. They would date about the same time as the head of an athlete in the Museo Archeologico of Rhodes, which is

¹ But for this feature I see no reason why Professor Shear's head should not represent an athlete wearing a fillet or wreath of victory, rather than Helios, especially in view of the resemblance to our head. The ears seem to me to be slightly swollen, but in any case they resemble those of our head, which can hardly represent Helios. The brushing up of the hair in front does not necessarily indicate Helios. It occurs already on the François vase, Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Pls. 11-12, and in the Volomandra "Apollo," Deonna, *Les "Apollons Archaiques"*, pp. 133-134, Figs. 10-12. The holes in the hair of the Shear head may well be for fastening a wreath. A small marble head of an athlete found by Professor Shear in the Athenian Agora in 1938 has a fillet and somewhat similar hair. It seems to be Hellenistic and perhaps Rhodian rather than Roman as it is called by Shear in *Ill. L. News*, July 9, 1938, p. 57, Fig. 6.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 285.

illustrated in *Clara Rhodos*¹ and dated in the early years of the third century B.C. This is a Rhodian head of similar style, especially in forehead, eyes, nose, mouth, and chin. The hair is brushed up in front as in Shear's head, but the curving ridged locks of hair are more conventionalized, the face is longer and not oval and the features are more individualized. But it would be a head of the same Rhodian school of sculpture, to which I have also suggested that the Fogg Art Museum head and possibly even the athlete's head in New York should be added. The mixture of the styles of Praxiteles, Scopas,² and Lysippus makes it likely that our head, like that in Rhodes just cited, is Hellenistic, as I believe also the Shear head to be, from the third century B.C. The deep boring in the hair might even place it in the second century B.C. It certainly is a local Rhodian work, somewhat better than most of the Hellenistic sculptures in the Museum at Rhodes, which are for the most part of poor craftsmanship. The nearest parallel to our head with its peculiar front hair like the mane of a lion or flame locks pointing down instead of upwards is the male figure in the middle of a Cypriote tombstone (Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, I: II, *Cypriote and Etruscan*, p. 142, Fig. 223 [C. 431]), which Pryce dates in the middle of the third century B.C. But the style and workmanship of our head are much better than in the Cypriote-Hellenistic sculpture, of which it is reminiscent. It is in any case an original admirable work of art from the distant island of Rhodes, *τῇ γλόθεν ἐκ νήσοιο 'Ρόδου τέχνασμα ποθινόν*.³

The third head⁴ (Pl. IX, 8-10), that of a young lady, is very beautiful. It comes from Eski-shehr and is a good example of a Roman life-size portrait with the so-called "Melonenfrisur." The head is of Asia Minor marble and is well preserved, except for the end of the nose, part of the chin, and a few spots of abrasion. The forehead is circular and framed by the wig-like hair, which is waved up over the top of the ears. The eyebrows are strongly curved

¹ II, 1932, pp. 30-31, Figs. 14, 15, and Pl. I. Cf. also V, 2, p. 76, Pls. IV-VI, a statue of the third century, called by some Ptolemy Euergetes.

² On style of Scopas cf. Morgan in *Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps*, 1936, pp. 253-259.

³ Cf. Cougny, *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, III, Paris, 1890, App. I, 317 (p. 51); *CIG*, 4535, an inscription found near Berytus in Syria.

⁴ Total height, 0.255 m.; from chin to top of head, 0.226 m.; depth from back of bun to end of nose, 0.235 m.

round into the narrow nose. The eyes are thus thrown into a deep shadow at the inner corners and there is a bunching of the flesh over the outer corners. The upper eyelid has a high curve and then slants gradually toward the corner; the lower has a much gentler curve. The eyeballs are solid and well differentiated from the sharp eyelids. The lachrymal channels were indicated and the pupils of the eyes were surely painted since they were not bored as in the later imperial Roman sculpture. The sides of the nose slope nicely into the full cheeks. The cheek-bones are so high that depressions are caused below the eyes and around the nostrils and mouth. The mouth is small with protruding lips. The lower is rolled over and leaves a depression between it and the well-rounded chin. There is a groove under the chin and cheeks, to set off the neck, which is rather high at the back. The face thus has a beautiful play of light and shade, which may have been enhanced by colour in the eyebrows and hair as well as in the pupils. The features are strongly individualized and represent some serious lady who is intelligent, meditative, reserved and good-looking. There is a little touch of sadness or melancholy in the face, no sensuousness or coquetry; and this simplicity is emphasized by the arrangement of the hair which lacks the frills and elaborate details of special coiffure displayed in so many Roman heads. Who this fascinating and mysterious lady was it is impossible to say. She was perhaps not of the Royal Family but she must have been a person of distinction.

One of the principal interests of the head is the coiffure, which is separated by deep divisions into four sections with crossing lines. On either side of the head below these melon-like sections the hair is waved straight back from the centre, then in four or more semi-circles, and then back up toward the crown of the head. The waved back strands are gathered into a double thick "bun" with a deep division in the middle which continues the groove over the centre of the head (Pl. IX, 10). The figure-eight knot or "butterfly bun" is tied high so as to leave as much of the neck exposed as possible. Especially to be noticed are the curves of the lowest string of the melon-like hair, where at the side it is fixed under an invisible fillet. This recalls a typical late Hellenistic coiffure.¹ The

¹ Cf., for example, *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg*, Pl. 135 (inv. 334).

"melon" frisure occurs early in sculpture. Such a division of the hair is known, for example, in the ladies from Herculaneum in Dresden, called "Grande Herculanaise" and "Petite Herculanaise,"¹ in similar Roman copies of the same fourth-century Greek prototype, such as the statue from Aegium or a bust from Delos, both in the National Museum at Athens.² These statues are copies of works by Lysippus rather than Praxiteles, who never used this coiffure. That Lysippus invented "la chevelure divisée en bandeaux bouffants" is difficult to prove, but it certainly goes back at least to his times. The general idea of such divisions, at least for the front hair,³ may be earlier, but there is no definite proof that Aspasia wore her hair in this way. Collignon⁴ says: "Ce genre de coiffure, qu'on a appelé parfois 'la frisure en côtes de melon' était en usage au IV^e siècle, et paraît avoir été surtout attribué aux statues iconiques; on le retrouve dans la statuette de Compiègne, qui nous a conservé la copie de la Corinne de Silanion, et dans plusieurs têtes rattachées souvent par les critiques, sans raison décisive, au cycle praxitélien." This type of coiffure can be seen in many sculptures from the fourth century on, too numerous to list, but I might mention the so-called "Corinna" head of Silanion from the fourth century B.C.,⁵ the Hellenistic copy found in a house at Delos, of the fourth-century "Petite Herculanaise," with ten sections of hair, which we have already discussed, and which Lawrence⁶ dates

¹ Arndt-Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler Griechischer und Römischer Sculptur*, Pls. 310 and 558. A kind of knot or bun at the back of the hair occurs even in the fourth century B.C., cf. Arndt-Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 13.

² Collignon, *Les Statues Funéraires*, p. 170, Fig. 101; p. 171, Fig. 102; Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, Pl. XXIX, 1-3; cf. also LIX, 7 (a head in Munich). F. P. Johnson, *Lysippos*, pp. 154-163, Pls. 26-27, discusses the "Herculanaises" and thinks that the Greek originals were by Lysippus and represented Demeter and Persephone. He lists 38 copies of the "Grande Herculanaise" and 51 of the "Petite Herculanaise," varying in date by four centuries but showing how popular this type of statue and this type of coiffure must have been among the Romans.

³ Cf. the Vatican so-called head of Aspasia, Arndt-Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 157.

⁴ *Les Statues Funéraires*, p. 171.

⁵ Cf. Schmidt in *Jb. Arch. Inst.*, XLVII, 1932, p. 281, who says: "Tatsächlich erweist sich der Typus Astor-Schliemann in der langen Reihe der Köpfe mit 'Melonenfrisur' als das stilistisch früheste Beispiel—wenn man den problematischen Fall der 'Aspasia' zurückstellen darf."

⁶ *Later Greek Sculpture*, p. 44, Pls. 72-73. Schmidt, *loc. cit.*, p. 281, n. 4, objects to so early a date as the first half of the fourth century for the Herculaneum ladies. They surely belong to the second half of the fourth century.

in the later second century ; the Vatican head published by Lippold,¹ the interesting Roman maiden's head in the National Museum at Athens.² In Hellenistic times Arsinoe and Berenice and others at the court of Ptolemy and even goddesses such as Artemis and Persephone affected the style.³ The arrangement of the hair in six sections points to the second century B.C. as Anti⁴ and Schmidt⁵ have shown. In the Augustan, Claudian, and Flavian epochs it was the custom often to give the hair a permanent wave and divide it into divisions, but they were not so puffed up or separated by such deep grooves.⁶ Probably out of this style developed the Roman form of melon frisure with the butterfly bun at the back, which became such a favourite in the second century A.D. But our head probably dates toward the end of the second century B.C. or from the first part of the first century B.C. It is late Hellenistic and even the style is pre-Roman. Until further evidence is found, we must consider it part of a statue of an unknown Roman girl with *διακριδὸν ἡσκημένη κόμη*, as an Asia Minor Greek, the Syrian Lucian,⁷ would say. She may even have been a Greek lady of early Roman times living in Asia Minor, where the head was found. The frisure after all is not Roman but a Greek mode of hair adopted by the Hellenistic age and later by Roman children and girls.⁸

¹ *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, III, 1, Pl. 14, No. 524.

² Arndt-Lippold, *Griechische und Römische Porträts*, No. 1060.

³ Cf. the terra-cotta figurine of Artemis with similar melon frisure and a bun in Furtwängler, *Sammlung Sabouroff*, Pl. CXXV.

⁴ *Die Antike*, V, 1929, p. 12.

⁵ *Jb. Arch. Inst.*, XLVII, 1932, pp. 281-285, especially p. 281, n. 4 : "Dass die Streifen der Melonenfrisuren im Lauf der Zeit an Zahl abnehmen, bestätigt sich, insofern es bei unserem Typus noch 14 sind, an den Dresdener Herculannerinnen 10 (nicht 12)."

⁶ Cf. for example, Mrs. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, 1907, Pl. CXV (a group of the Flavian epoch at Chatsworth in which the daughter has such waved hair as opposed to the elaborate high coiffure of the mother). Cf. the articles on Haartracht in *RE*, VII, 2127-2142 ; *Suppl.*, VI, 98 ff. ; *Schumacher Festschrift*, pp. 243-244, but in none of these is there an illustration which is an exact parallel to our head.

⁷ *Erotes*, 3.

⁸ For the use of the bun by Faustina, cf. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, II, 2, Pl. LXIV ; *Münztafeln*, IV, pp. 19-21. For coins of Plautilla showing the bun, cf. Mattingly-Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, IV, 1, 1936, Pl. XIII, pp. 11, 15. But of course these are very different from the bun on our head, which is much earlier, perhaps one of the earliest representations of this kind of hair-dress.

COIN-LEGENDS IN CARIAN SCRIPT

by E. S. G. ROBINSON

THE only Lydian coin-legend that exists has already been studied¹ by the distinguished scholar to whom this work is offered, and it may not be inappropriate for a numismatist (though one who lays no claim to philology) to collect here, in his honour, the few extant examples of similar legends in a neighbouring speech. Material for the study of the Carian script and language is so scanty and limited, that any addition, however trifling, may turn out to be of value. Only seventy-six inscriptions from all sources are recorded by J. Friedrich in his *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* (p. 90, *Karische Texte*), where the problem may be most conveniently studied,² and among them only one coin legend.

Of the dozen coins with inscriptions or single signs which are enumerated below, the first is a recent discovery, the rest for the most part have been either misread or not recognized for Carian. No small part of their interest lies in the fact that, in contrast with the scrawled signatures of the mercenaries in Egypt in the seventh and early sixth centuries B.C., which form the bulk of the known inscriptions, these are official documents, made in the corner of South-Western Asia Minor between Miletus and the Lycian border, and dateable within near limits in the fifth and fourth centuries. For none is there not good and independent ground for an attribution to this district,³ though it is not yet possible to assign them to

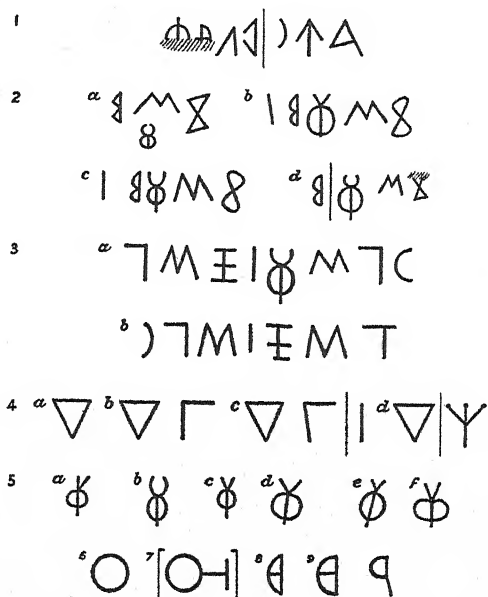
¹ *JHS*, 1926, p. 36.

² See p. 91 for full bibliography; of special importance are Bork's two articles in *Archiv für Schreib- u. Buchwesen*, IV (1930), pp. 18-30, and *Archiv für Orientforschung*, VII (1931), pp. 14-23, here referred to as Bork I and Bork II. Brandenstein's recent article, "Karische Sprache," in *RE, Suppl.* VI (1935), cols. 140 seqq., should now be added to the list.

³ The attribution of the two principal groups (B-E, F-G) is fully discussed in *Num. Chron.*, 1936, pp. 265 seqq. It will be noted how common are the types which seem to have a solar context—winged figures, the lion and the bull—and how prevalent is the Aeginetic standard.

individual towns. Though one or two of the letter-forms have not been recognized before in the scanty material available, others again are found in Carian, but not in either of the better-known neighbouring scripts, so that, the district once established, it is fair to treat the script as Carian.

A description of the coins is first given, followed by brief notes on the legends, etc., which are shown in facsimile in the table below. B-E are the product of a single mint, as are F-G and J-L.



- A. *Obv.* : Naked male figure, winged, running. *Rev.* : Bull ; above and below, in two lines inscr., No. 1.

Silver stater of Aeginetic standard, about 475 B.C. : obtained near Makri. British Museum (*Num. Chron.*, 1936, pp. 188 seqq., Plate XII, 17).

- B. *Obv.* : Naked male figure, winged, running (in different posture) ; in field, signs, No. 5 b, c. *Rev.* : Lion ; above inscr., Nos. 2 a, b, c, d.

Silver Aeginetic staters, 480-460 B.C. : almost all specimens from a recent find on the Caro-Lycian border, which also contained a number of coins of class F, but of earlier type without inscription. B.M., and in the Market (*BM Cat.*, *Lycia*, etc., p. 118, No. 2, "Olbia" ; E. Babelon, *Traité des monn. grecques et rom.*, II, 1, cols. 541-542, Pl. XXIV, 18 ; *Num. Chron.*, 1936, pp. 267 seqq., Pl. XIV, 7-12).

- C. The same types : in field on *obv.* sign, No. 5a ; *rev.* : No. 5c above.
Silver Aeginetic quarter- and eighth-staters and obol about 480 B.C. B.M., Paris (*Traité, ibid.*, cols. 541-543, Pl. XXIV, 14, 17 ; *Num. Chron.*, 1936, p. 275, Pl. XIV, 17-18).
- D. The same types : *obv.* : sign No. 5b ; *rev.* : above, inscr., No. 3a.
Silver Aeginetic stater, 460-440 B.C. B.M. (*BM Cat., ibid.*, No. 1 ; *Traité, ibid.*, Pl. XIV, 16 ; *Num. Chron.*, 1936, pp. 275 seqq., Pl. XIV, 16).
- E. *Obv.* : Head and shoulder of lion. *Rev.* : Laureate head of Apolline type ; in front, inscr., No. 3b ; behind, sign, No. 5d.
Silver Aeginetic quarter-stater, about 440 B.C. Berlin. (*Traité, ibid.*, Pl. XIV, 15 ; *Num. Chron.*, *ibid.*, Pl. XIV, 15).
- F. *Obv.* : Running Nike, holding caduceus and wreath. *Rev.* : Incuse square containing formal pattern composed of a pyramidal shape, sometimes flanked by stylized birds? or grape-bunches, and the signs or inscr., Nos. 4 a, b, c, d.¹
Silver Aeginetic staters (a-b) 440-20 B.C., (b-d) 430-400 B.C. B.M. (*BM Cat., Lycaonia, etc.*, pp. 96-7, Nos. 5-11, "Mallus," *Traité*, II, 2 cols., 867-870, Pl. CXXXVII, 12-15 ; *Num. Chron.*, 1936, pp. 270-271, currently attributed to the Cilician Aphrodisias).
- G. *Obv.* : Wreathed head facing. *Rev.* : Sphinx ; on left and right, inscr., No. 4b. Bronze, wt. 0.85 gm., about 340 B.C.,² "from Cilicia," Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer, *Zur Griech. u. Röm. Münzkunde*, pp. 204-205, No. 2, Pl. VII, 22 to Aphrodisias).
- H. *Obv.* : Boar. *Rev.* : Bull's head ; in front, sign, No. 5e.
Silver Babylonian stater struck in Lycia about 460 B.C. Paris (*Traité, ibid.*, cols. 187-190, Pl. XCII, 14).
- I. Phaselis. *Obv.* : Prow ; and *rev.* : stern of galley. In later counter-mark on reverse, sign No. 5f.
Silver Persic stater about 480 B.C. from a recent find on the Carolycian border (*Num. Chron.*, 1936, p. 267, No. 6, Pl. XIV, 6).
- J. *Obv.* : Head and shoulder of lion ; on shoulder, sign No. 5f.
Rev. : Incuse.
Silver Persic stater, about 500 B.C. Paris (*Traité*, II, 1, cols. 455-456, Pl. XIX, 22, currently attributed with the two following coins to Caunus).

¹ The third letter of 4c is on a lower line ; the second letter of 4d is engraved, below, on the pyramid.

² The coin is small and its style nondescript, so that it is difficult to date closely. It may be earlier in the fourth century.

- K. Similar, with sign No. 6.
B.M. (*Traité*, II, 1, cols. 453-454, Pl. XIX, 16).
- L. Similar, with sign 7.¹
B.M. (*Traité*, *ibid.*).
- M. *Obv.*: The Great King running, with bow and spear. *Rev.*: Prow, on which sign No. 8.
Gold daric of Darius III about 335 B.C. Paris (*Traité*, II, 2, cols. 65-68, Pl. LXXXVII, 24; cf. *BM Cat.*, *Arabia, etc.*, pp. cxxviii-ix, Pl. LII, 5).
- N. *Obv.*: Helmeted head of Athena. *Rev.*: Heracles running to the attack; Erbbina in Lycian script; across field, inscr. No. 9.
Silver Babylonian? stater of Erbbina dynast of Telmessus, about 400 B.C. Munich (*BM Cat.*, *Lycia, etc.*, p. xli (34), Pl. XLIV, 12; Friedrich, *op. cit.*, p. 107, No. 76).

Transliterations are added according to Friedrich's system (*op. cit.*, p. 156), unless otherwise stated, together with a few notes.

(1) ← A-ti-g-(g ?)-l-e²-vo. The lower part of the last two letters is unfortunately off the *flan* but enough remains to be quite sure of their identity. Together they form the suffix denoting the possessive.³ The fourth letter is not otherwise known in Carian though found in Lydian, where it has doubtfully been given the value "g."⁴ A similar sound seems to be required here too, and if this is so, perhaps Bork should be followed in rendering the preceding letter by "qh" rather than "g." For the general shape of the word cf. M-g-u-l-a and M-g-u-l-e-vo (Friedrich, Nos. 65 and 4). It must be a personal name, no doubt that of a local dynast like Tumnes of Termera, whose coins are inscribed Τυμνο Τερμερικον (*BM Cat. Caria*, p. 176, No. 2).

(2) (a) (d) ← le ? (or jo ?)-s-b. (b) (c) ← le ? (or jo ?)-s-b-i. The caduceus-like sign which usually divides the legend in 2 and 3 (a) is not included in the immediate transliterations, but is discussed separately under No. 5. That the word must be read from right to left is shown by (b) and (c) which have an extra sign. This sign,

¹ Two other signs, repeated by Babelon from Six's article (*Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 247), where these and similar coins were collected for the first time, I have been unable to trace.

² Brandenstein (*loc. cit.*, col. 144), gives reason for "e" against Friedrich's "he."

³ Bork II, p. 13.

⁴ Friedrich, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

commonly used on earlier inscriptions as a mere stroke to separate words, is not allowed the force of a letter by Friedrich or Bork but is admitted by Brandenstein as an "i." This must be correct, for neither here nor in No. 3 (a), where it also occurs, can it be anything but a letter; in the one place nothing follows it, and in the other it follows immediately an intrusive sign sufficient in itself to mark a division had such been intended. The third letter also does not appear as a letter-form on Friedrich's or Brandenstein's tables though a somewhat similar sign is placed by them alongside of the preceding letter of this inscription and given the value "s." A similar form does occur, however, in an inscription from Silsilis which Friedrich in his text (No. 62) transcribes as "b."

(3) (a) → l-s-(n?)-i-s-l-g, (b) ← the same.

The fourth letter "i," has been dealt with above. The third letter is new in Carian. Its value in Lycian and Lydian is "ñ." For the termination compare Friedrich, No. 28, which appears to end with the same pair of letters. Nos. 2 and 3 appear to give the names of dynasts, like No. 1, perhaps in abbreviated form. For the caduceus-like sign, see under No. 5 below.

(4) (a) ra (b) → ra-l (c) → ra-l-i (d) ra kh.

A comparison of (a), (b), (c) shows that the legend must be read from left to right. For the third letter of (c) see the notes on No. 2. The "kh" in (d) is cut on to the "pyramid" and not ranged with the other letter to which it should not be attached. It is either the initial of some word describing the "pyramid," or, more likely, the initial of a dynast or moneyer. The main inscription covers a period of a hundred years or so, and must therefore contain a place-name. The sphinx which occurs on the reverse of the bronze coin (G), is already known as a Carian type, e.g. on bronze at Caunus (*BM Cat.*, *Caria*, p. 74) and on an archaic silver stater whose exact mint is uncertain (*BM*, cf. *Weber Cat.*, No. 6243 "Chios"), but which is shown to belong to this district by the reverse. The wreathed facing head on the obverse is described by Imhoof (*l.c.*) as female, but it finds a close analogy in the Apolline heads of the Carian dynasts, Maussollus, etc.

(5) This sign assumes various forms, developing from the early (a) and (f) into something like a stylized caduceus-head, though it never loses the upright stroke through the circle. It has no foot,

though it sometimes stands directly on the end of the lion's tail, and this has given rise to the horizontal foot with which it is occasionally credited (e.g. *Traité*, II, 1, cols. 541-542). It appears to be the characteristic mark of the mint in which the series of coins B-E was struck, for it is found on every coin, and, with one exception, on both sides. This conclusion is supported by its use to counter-mark the stater of Phaselis (I), which was found with a large number of B-E coins, the purpose of such marks being to give a piece currency outside its usual limits. Its use, however, on a Lycian stater and, among other signs, on the series J-L, shows that it does not only connote the mint of B-E. Whether it is a script sign, or merely a "symbol," like No. 7, is a doubtful question. If the first, it is one of those composite signs which Bork regards as characteristic of Carian.¹ It can be resolved into "vo" and "u," and (a) and (f) certainly suggest this. That it occurs on a Lycian stater (H) is no argument against this view, for at least one other indisputable Carian legend occurs on a Lycian coin (N). If, however, it is held to be a symbol, the question is only put a stage further back. Symbol of what? Various linear "symbols" (like the ankh on L) are not uncommonly found on coins of the neighbouring Lycians for which no explanation is forthcoming.² These have no obvious connexion with the existing Lycian alphabet. Are they, like the ankh and the syllabic signs in Cypriote and Carian, survivals of a prehistoric script? In the same way at Gaza, where the coins carry Greek inscriptions from their beginning in the second century B.C., a stylized "mem" survives, as the symbol of the god originally named Marnas and identified with Zeus,³ until the coinage ends under Gordian III.

6-7. o : and ankh. These two signs, and also 5 (f), all occur in the same series, J-L, on the lion's shoulder. Being without obvious connexion with each other they are less likely to stand in some relation to the lion than to denote the authority by which the coins were struck. The ankh appears as the symbol of royalty

¹ Bork I, p. 28.

² See Hill's list (which might now be expanded) in *BM Cat., Lycia*, etc., p. 333. One also occurs on the third-century rock tomb at Krya on the Lycian border, which has a Carian inscription (Friedrich, No. 41).

³ *BM Cat., Palestine*, p. lxxi. Cf. the quotation from Damascius (*Dubitaciones*, 262) καὶ παρὰ Γαζαίοις [σχῆμα] ἄλλο τοῦ Διός.

on coins of Cyprus and Cilicia ; and at Tarsus, where it also takes the same characteristic T-shape, the Great King holds it in his hand (*Traité*, II, 2, cols. 361-362, Pl. CVI, 8) ; the other signs would denote the local dynasts.

8. e. This must be the latest Carian letter to be found on the coins, and is interesting as appearing on a local issue of the imperial Persian coinage, made no doubt in connexion with the preparations against the Macedonian invasion.

9. e-r. This inscription, already known to Friedrich, is included for completeness. The coin-legend is bilingual and the Carian part of it gives the impression of having been engraved on to the die afterwards. The two letters represent the initials of the name of the dynast Erbbina which is also given in full in Lycian.

I can only refer to Prof. H. Th. Bossert's article "Hethitische Hieroglyphen auf griechischen Münzen," *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 14 (1938), pp. 338 ff., which has appeared when the foregoing was already in print. He accepts the Carian origin of Nos. A-E and F, and regards the pyramid of the latter and also the second sign in 4(d) as survivals of Hittite hieroglyphs.

SOME REMARKS ON THE MONETARY AND COMMERCIAL POLICY OF THE SELEUCIDS AND ATTALIDS

by M. ROSTOVITZ

A CAREFUL comparative study of the circulation of coins in the Greek and Hellenistic world remains a *pium desiderium* of all the students of ancient economic history. It cannot be said that this is due to the scarcity of material.

It is true that the hundreds of thousands of Greek coins kept in our museums and private collections, useful as they are in many other respects for a historian of ancient economic life, yield almost no evidence for solving the problem of coin circulation. They seldom come from systematic excavations and in most cases the place where the single coins were found is unknown or doubtful. Observations on and statistics of stray surface finds of coins in the various regions of the Greek world may prove most important. Such observations and statistics may serve as a substitute for the much fuller evidence yielded by systematic excavations of ancient sites.¹

It is evident how important are systematic excavations for the study of coin circulation in the Greek world. The crop of coins in all the systematic archaeological excavations is very abundant indeed and the coins form in most of the cases continuous chronological series. But important as they are, the coins for a long time were the stepchildren of the excavators. Their registration and cleaning are difficult, and their yield in numismatic rarities meagre. Gold and silver are rarely found in systematic excavations. Small copper in a bad state of preservation is the rule. Quite different is the modern excavator's attitude towards coins. The coins are

¹ Such systematic observations and statistics were rarely made and still more rarely published. I may refer for example to the valuable articles of F. Hasluck, "Coin Collecting in Mysia," *Num. Chr.* (1906), p. 26 f. and (1907), p. 440 f., and to the systematic work done in this field by L. Robert in his *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, 1935 (for example his chapter on "Germe et les Attacitai," pp. 171 ff. and esp. p. 194), and *Études Anatoliennes*, 1937 (see Index under "Monnaies").

as a rule carefully collected, registered, gradually cleaned, identified, and catalogued. However, since in systematic excavations coins are found by the thousands and their study is long, tiresome, and rather dull, there are very few cases in which all the numismatic material found in an excavation has been published and interpreted. Let me confine myself to the Greek and Hellenistic world. The late K. Regling was one of the pioneers in this field. His surveys of the coins found at Priene and Pergamon are very useful and illuminating though not complete: he pays more attention to topography than to history.¹ It is a pity that his registration of the numismatic finds of Olympia, Dodona, and Magnesia on the Mæander has never been published.² As careful as Regling's studies are those which were carried out for Corinth (in part), for Olynthus, and for some minor excavations (e.g. Nemea and Calydon) on the mainland of Greece and for several Palestinian cities (Gezer, Bethshan, Beth-zur, Samaria), for Dura in Mesopotamia and for Seleucia on the Tigris in Babylonia.³ But valuable as they are, the coins found in systematic excavations have their limitations. They almost exclusively testify to the coin circulation in a limited area and represent the money which was used for the daily purchases of the residents of a given city. They do not reflect, to speak in modern terms, the savings accounts of the population and not even the current accounts, and they do not bear either on the big international traffic of a given place.

Much more reliable and representative of the money circulation of the ancient world in general and the Greek in particular are the coin hoards. A large number of these was and is daily found both by chance diggers and in systematic excavations. Little attention was paid them in the past. Even now, when their value is well understood both by numismatists and historians, many of the hoards—those which are found by chance diggers—find their way into the melting pot or are dispersed by professional dealers. And yet of many of them we have full scientific accounts and of others partial but representative reports. For a long time our information

¹ K. Regling, *Die Münzen von Priene*, 1927, pp. 169 ff., and id., *Münzfunde, Alt. v. Pergamon*, I, 2, 1913, pp. 355 ff., esp. p. 361.

² See his remarks in *Die Münzen von Priene*, p. 188, n. 429.

³ I cannot give here in this short note bibliographical references. They will be found in my forthcoming *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*.

on the Greek coin hoards was scattered in various periodicals and reports on excavations. However, since 1925 we are in possession of a copious and reliable guide as regards the coin hoards. We owe it to the skill and energy of Sydney P. Noe and to the resources of the American Numismatic Society. This guide (*A Bibliography of Greek Coinhoards*) was first published in 1925 (*Num. Notes and Mon.*, No. 25), and appeared recently in 1937 in a new edition (*Num. Notes and Mon.*, No. 78) almost doubled in size.

The hoards, i.e. money hidden in the earth by its owners, are not all of them of the same character. Some of them—especially those found in private houses—represent either shop cash accumulated by a retail trader and buried by accident (fire, earthquake, and the like) or the money kept by a householder for his daily outlays.¹ They consist almost exclusively of small cash, copper coins, and must be classed with the stray coins found in ruins of ancient cities. The same must be said of collection boxes occasionally found in temple ruins and so vividly described by Herondas and in the accounts of the temple of Delos. The real hoards are different. They are savings of an individual or a family or perhaps a corporation hidden in a hurry in time of danger in order to be recovered after the danger was over. Many of them contain hundreds and thousands of gold and silver coins, a real fortune; others are poorer. However, since in most cases they represent a substantial part or the whole of the savings of a person or group they are invaluable for the study of various sides of economic life. Duly studied they give, for instance, an approximate idea of the wealth of individuals of a given time and of a given place. However, their main importance consists in the information which, alongside of the stray surface finds and finds in systematic excavations, they give of the coin circulation in a given place at a given time. It is evident that money hidden in hoards was used by its owners both to meet their living expenses and for various business transactions. For the student of ancient economic history the coin hoards have, therefore, the same value and importance as the modern savings and bank accounts of private persons and corporations might prove to have for the student of modern economic history. I must emphasize in this

¹ See the remarks of K. Regling, *Die Münzen von Priene*, p. 175, and A. R. Bellinger's remarks on Dura hoards, VIII-IX (in *Rep.*, VII-VIII, cf. *Rep.*, VI, p. 467).

connexion that except for the hoards and stray finds we possess little documentary evidence on coin circulation in the Greek and Hellenistic world. Some mentions in literary texts and in inscriptions and the accounts and business documents of Egypt and of Babylonia of Hellenistic times represent almost all that we are in possession of.¹ It is on this material of coin hoards that my short study is based. It bears on the economic life of the Seleucid and Attalid monarchies of the third and second centuries B.C.

It is well known how scant is our information on the economic life of the Seleucid and Attalid kingdoms, especially at this period. We have in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Pergamon nothing comparable to the papyri of Egypt, except (for the Seleucid kingdom) a not very numerous set of Babylonian clay tablets mentioned above. All the more valuable are the many and abundant coin hoards of this time.

However, in order better to understand the economic significance of the aforementioned coin hoards of Syria and Mesopotamia, let me first say a few words on the circulation of coins in the Hellenistic world before the middle of the third century. My short statements bearing on this topic are based mostly on Noe's Bibliography and do not pretend to be exhaustive.

Let me begin with the time of *Alexander* and the years immediately after his death.² The circulation of coins in *Greece* at

¹ Very little use has been made of the coin hoards by students of Greek economic history. The only exceptions I know of are two valuable articles of F. Heichelheim which bear mainly on the archaic and classical periods of Greek history: F. Heichelheim, "Die Ausbreitung der Münzgeldwirtschaft und der Wirtschaftsstile im archaischen Griechenland," *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, 55 (1931), pp. 229 ff., and *ibid.*, "Wirtschaftshistorische Beiträge zur klassisch-griechischen und hellenistischen Münzstatistik," *Transactions of the Intern. Congress of Numismatists* of 1936, pp. 68 ff., and the lectures of A. Blanchet in the Collège de France: "Les rapports entre les dépôts monétaires et les événements militaires, politiques et économiques," printed in *Rev. Num.*, 39 (1936), pp. 1 ff. Cf. the chapters of F. Heichelheim (Syria), J. A. D. Larsen (Greece) and T. R. S. Broughton (Asia Minor) in T. Frank's *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, IV, 1938. In the article of A. Blanchet the reader will find some remarks on the coin hoards of Syria dealt with below, see A. Blanchet, *loc. cit.*, p. 29 f.

² I must emphasize that it is very difficult to draw a sharp dividing line between the hoards of the time of Alexander and those of the subsequent period of the diadochi. Very few of the hoards which contain exclusively coins of Philip and Alexander and no coins of their immediate successors can be and have been exactly dated, since very few of them have been carefully studied. In many cases we have no evidence whether the Alexanders of a given hoard were struck at his lifetime or are posthumous. In the last case, they may be even later than the successors. I list, therefore, *tentatively* under Alexander those hoards

this time presents more or less the same aspect as that revealed by the coin hoards and other material for the fourth century B.C. The prevalent currency of the time consisted of coins minted by various Greek cities, the local currency prevailing in the single cities. However, in almost all the hoards found in Greece we find in ever-increasing quantities gold and especially silver coins of Philip and Alexander, which took the place of the Persian darics and sigli and of the coins of Persian satraps and dynasts.¹ The picture changes in the *Northern part of the Balkan peninsula*. A large group of hoards show that gold and silver of Philip and Alexander reigned here supreme, at least in the hoards, practically their only competitors being the Athenian owls.² In *Asia Minor* as in Greece the common currency (silver and copper) in the Greek cities, as shown by excavations, came from local mints and from the mints of the nearest neighbourhood.³ In the few hoards of this time to the contrary local silver is almost not represented and it is Philippi and Alexanders which dominate.⁴ Nor is the picture different in the East. Local coins still appear in some early hoards. Later in *Phoenicia* and *Syria*,⁵ in the *Caucasus*⁶ and *Persia*⁷ the large and frequent hoards with an unusual abundance of gold coins practically consist of gold staters and silver tetradrachms of Philip and Alexander only. Even in *North India* (at Taxila) Alexander's coins appear in hoards alongside the local punch-marked coins.⁸ Finally, in *Egypt* the variety of Persian and Greek coins in the hoards of the late fourth century B.C. (before Alexander), is replaced in the many and rich hoards of Alexander's time by the Philippi and Alexanders.⁹

which contain exclusively Philippi and Alexanders and under the diadochi those which contain in addition coins of one or another diadochus or are dated otherwise. Practically the shifting of one or another hoard from one group to another makes very little difference: in the main coin circulation in the times of the diadochi shows the same leading features as that of the time of Alexander.

¹ Noe, Nos. 1, 49, 461, 592, 595, 599, 669, 683.

² Noe, Nos. 112, 121, 122, 326, 338, 339, 404, 508, 632a, 640, 690, 739, 1117.

³ See the evidence collected by Regling for Priene and Pergamon, above, p. 278 n. 1.

⁴ Noe, Nos. 20, 79, 390; cf., however, the interesting hoard of Kuchuk Köhne (322 B.C.), Noe, No. 581.

⁵ E.g. Noe, Nos. 29, 133, 882, 884.

⁶ Noe, Nos. 1026 and 1146.

⁷ Noe, Nos. 1148 and 561.

⁸ Noe, No. 1071.

⁹ For the time immediately previous to Alexander, e.g. Noe, No. 322, cf. K. Regling, *Z.f.N.* 41 (1931), pp. 28 and 41, who mentions similar hoards. For the time of Alexander, Noe, Nos. 3, 89, 324, 578.

At the time of the *diadochi* very little change is noticeable in Greece. The circulation of coins remains as free as it used to be. Alongside of city currency, large masses of Alexander's and Philip's coins and ever-increasing quantities of the coins of the diadochi, not excluding Ptolemy Soter,¹ were in circulation. However, outside of Greece some new phenomena present themselves. In the *Balkan peninsula*, Lysimachus' coins successfully competed with the Alexanders and the Philippi and the same is true of *Asia Minor*. Some hoards of Asia Minor, of S. Russia, of the Caucasus, and of Macedonia consist of Lysimachus' coins exclusively or almost exclusively.² Some others show a mixture of Philippi and Alexanders and of Lysimachi.³ The city issues are rare in the hoards of the Balkans and of Asia Minor, while they prevail (especially copper) among the coins found in the ruins of some cities of Asia Minor.⁴ Numerous both in the Balkans and in Asia Minor are the coins of the other diadochi—Cassander, Demetrius Poliorcetes, a little later Seleucus I. But the coins of Ptolemy Soter never appear in the hoards outside of Greece.⁵ The same aspect is shown by the rare hoards of *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*. In the cities like Dura-Europos and Seleucia coins of Seleucus I reign supreme. In the hoards they compete with the Alexanders and Philippi. Foreign city issues, except for occasional imitations of Athenian owls, are absent.⁶ Not very much different were the conditions in *Egypt*. However, Egypt begins to isolate itself. No dynastic coins except those of Soter, not even those of Lysimachus, appear in the hoards of the early times of Soter in Egypt. City issues (e.g. Lampsacenes) appear occasionally, but in general the hoards consist of Alexanders and Philippi and the early issues of Soter.⁷

With the establishment of the *balance of power* after Ipsos and Corupedion the Hellenistic world became divided as regards currency into two parts. *Egypt*, by changing the standard of its

¹ Noe, Nos. 19, 53, 69, 239, 288, 392, 393, 455, 563, 564, 717, 795.

² Noe, Nos. 46, 48, 68, 630, 1116. On the kinds of Lysimachus' coins in S. Russia see *Skythien und der Bosporus*, p. 186, and Index, s.v. Münzen.

³ E.g., the Balkans—Noe, Nos. 192, 624, 646, 821.

⁴ E.g. Priene and Pergamon, above, p. 278 n. 1.

⁵ Representative hoards: the Balkans—Noe, Nos. 896, 1009; Asia Minor—Noe, Nos. 51 and 67.

⁶ Typical is the hoard of Babylon—Noe, No. 118; cf. Mossul—Noe, No. 710.

⁷ E.g. Noe, Nos. 5, 34, 359, 364, 582, 954, 1123.

coins from the Attic to the so-called Phoenician or Ptolemaic separated itself from the rest of the Hellenistic world. In the many hoards of Egypt of the third century B.C. no coins are found except those coined by the Ptolemies. It is evident that foreign coins were in one way or another excluded from the Egyptian markets. A strict coin monopoly was established both in Egypt and in most of the Ptolemaic foreign dominions, at least in Cyprus, probably Coele Syria and certainly Palestine. Careful study of coins found in several cities of Palestine systematically excavated (Beth-zur, Bethshan, Gezer, Samaria) and in occasional hoards proves it beyond doubt.¹ The situation may have been different in Cyrenaica (one local issue at least, that of the *κοινόν*, appears here in the third century) and in the Anatolian and Thracian dominions of the Ptolemies.² We have no exact information on how the exclusion of foreign currency from the Egyptian market was put into effect. The famous letter of Demetrius to Apollonius of 258 B.C. (Hunt, *Sel. Pap.*, II, No. 409), which refers to a special decree, illustrates the procedure as regards foreign gold. The letter orders the re-minting of it in the Alexandrian mint.

While the Ptolemies shut themselves off from foreign currency and made their own royal currency practically the exclusive currency of their extensive Empire, both Egypt and the foreign dominions, the rest of the Hellenistic world presents a different aspect. Here also we notice a tendency towards unity. This unity, however, was achieved by a kind of common understanding. First and foremost, most of the leading states of the Hellenistic East kept strictly to one and the same standard—the Attic. Though all the kings of the Hellenistic world and many cities and federations, in independent or free and autonomous Greece especially, coined their own reliable and abundant silver and of course copper, the common currency of big business and interstate trade as represented by the hoards consisted even in Greece to a large extent of issues of Philip, Alexander, Lysimachus (in part posthumous and minted in city mints), and of the still circulating coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes.

¹ Cf. with the evidence yielded by the cities the hoard of Safed in Galilee—Noc, No. 879.

² For Cyrenaica—E. S. G. Robinson, *BM Cat.*, Cyrenaica, 1927. For Greece and Asia Minor some examples quoted by A. Heuss, *Stadt und Herrscher des Hellenismus*, 1937, p. 195. Not all his examples are convincing.

On the contrary, the small change for domestic business was almost exclusively local, royal or city issues according to place and circumstance.¹ So it was for Asia Minor and Syria, at Priene in Asia Minor (local currency) and in the Palestinian cities (after Antiochus III), at Dura and Seleucia (royal currency). In Pergamon royal and city coins circulated side by side. The royal gold and silver currency was of course not excluded and not neglected by the interstatal trade, but it played a secondary part. The emissions of Alexanders and of Lysimachi were apparently much larger than those of the royal coins. Such is the picture which we may derive from the numerous hoards of the time under review in Greece, in the Balkan peninsula, in Asia Minor, and in Syria and Mesopotamia. The only differences between these various regions were that in Greece the city currencies were much more prominent than in Asia Minor and that while the other parts of the Eastern Hellenistic world shut their doors to Ptolemaic gold and silver almost completely (I may mention a single tetradrachm of one of the Ptolemies found among the stray coins of Pergamon) this prohibition was not so strict in Greece. This is shown by several hoards found in various parts of Greece. Whether this exclusion of Ptolemaic currency was due to the difficulties of using Ptolemaic silver because of its Phoenician standard, or whether, as the present writer considers more probable, the exclusion was a retaliatory measure of the East against the exclusiveness of the Ptolemies we do not know.

It is useless to enumerate all the hoards which prove the statements formulated above. A preliminary collection of them was made by Regling.² Since 1928, however, the numbers of similar hoards increased considerably. Let me quote the most characteristic of them. For Greece : Olympia (Noe, 754 ; 250-225 B.C.) ; Sophikon (Noe, 997) ; Chalcis (Noe, 232 ; ab. 250 B.C.) ; unknown place in Greece (Noe, 463) ; Mycene (Noe, 716 ; ab. 280-260 B.C.).

¹ I cannot deal here with the much discussed question of the right of coinage exercised by the cities in the Seleucid Kingdom. It is certain that though exceptions may be quoted the rule was a coin-monopoly of the Kings, strict in Syria, more lax in Asia Minor. See E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*, 1938, pp. 228 ff., cf. pp. 211 ff. and A. Heuss, *Stadt und Herrscher des Hellenismus*, 1937, pp. 193 ff.

² K. Regling, "Hellenistischer Münzschatz aus Babylon," *Num. Zeitschr.*, 38 (1928), pp. 92 ff. On this article are based the statements of E. Bickerman, *Inst. d. Sél.*, pp. 222 ff.

For the Balkans : Garbino (Noe, 421) and Rakitovo (Noe, 849), both in Bulgaria, and an unknown place in Serbia (Noe, 959). For the islands and Asia Minor (for the end of the period under review) : Rhodes (Noe, 862 ; ab. 187 B.C.) ; Sardis (Noe, 925 ; 195-190 B.C.), and Asia Minor (Noe, 82, latest coins Eumenes II and Prusias I).

The fullest and the most illuminating evidence, however, is presented by Syria and Mesopotamia. Let me dwell a little more in detail on these two countries since their economic aspect as revealed by the coin hoards forms the main subject of this paper.

The hoards of Syria and Mesopotamia of the middle and second half of the third and the early second century B.C. are fairly numerous, and each one of them was, when first found, comparatively rich. They present a peculiar aspect similar to but not identical with the hoards of the other parts of the Eastern Hellenistic world. Let me give a list of them in chronological order :—

(1) *Homs* : Noe, 487 ; c. 250 B.C. More than 34 ar. Among them Lysimachus prevails with 22 tetr. ; next follow Eumenes I and Attalus I with 2 tetr., and finally we have 4 tetr. of Antiochus I and II. It is interesting to note the prevalence of foreign, mainly Anatolian and Balkan silver, over the local Seleucid silver.

(2) *Homs* : Noe, 488 ; a little later—time before the death of Antiochus III. 60 ar. Lysimachus again prevails with 34 tetradrachms “ of which 23 were contemporaneous and 11 posthumous, mostly of uncertain mints in Thrace, but there were three from Cius in Bithynia ” (E. T. Newell in a private letter). In addition to the Lysimachi, 1 Alexander (posthumous, Chios), 17 Seleucids (from Antiochus I to Antiochus III) and 8 Attalids (Eumenes I, Attalus I, Eumenes II).

(3) *Mesopotamia* : Noe, 680 ; Regling, No. 6 ; 240-220 B.C. More than 253 ar. Among the tetradrachms and drachms of this find the Philippi, Alexanders (19 tetr. and 19 dr.), Lysimachi and Demetrius Poliorcetes prevail ; with them is associated Eumenes I ; the Syrian kings from Seleucus I to Seleucus II are represented by 39 coins all told, a little more than Alexander alone.

(4) Very similar and almost contemporary with the second hoard of *Homs* is another hoard of *Mesopotamia* recently mentioned by J. Allan, *Br. Mus. Quart.*, 10 (1936), p. 127 f., Pl. XXXVII ;

Noe, 681. 100 ar. Alexander is represented by 15 coins and Lysimachus by 39; the number of Attalid coins is comparatively large (8); the Seleucids' share from Antiochus I to Antiochus III is 38 tetr. and dr. A certain part of this hoard is now in the hands of E. T. Newell. He was kind enough to send me the following remarks on the Alexanders and Lysimachi of this hoard: "One Alexander tetradrachm and at least two drachms are contemporary, the remainder range from Alexander's death to c. 180 B.C. The latest coin in the hoard is apparently one Alexander tetradrachm from Aspendus, dated 'Year 9' or c. 180 B.C., according to the accepted dating of these particular coins. The contemporaneous 'Alexanders' were struck at Amphipolis, Miletus, and Salamis in Cyprus. The posthumous Alexanders are of Aspendus and various (somewhat uncertain) mints in Western and North-Western Asia Minor. Of the Lysimachus coins in the hoard, seventeen are contemporary and were struck at Aenus, Lysimachia, Lampsacus, Alexandria Troas, Cius, Heraclea, Magnesia ad Maeandrum. The twenty-two posthumous Lysimachus coins were struck at Aenus, Lysimachia, Cius, Cyzicus, Byzantium, Calchedon, and other uncertain mints in North-Western Asia Minor."

(5) Of the same type is the hoard of *Tell Halaaf* in Mesopotamia; Noe, 1086; Regling, No. 5. 352 ar. The prevalence of the coins of Alexander, Philip, Lysimachus and Demetrius is surprising (317 pieces); with them are associated 5 tetr. of the Attalids and some Seleucid coins—Seleucus I, Antiochus I, Antiochus II, Antiochus III—all told, 38 coins. Here, again, I owe to the kindness of E. T. Newell some remarks on this hoard. "In the *Tell Halaaf* hoard," he writes, "contemporary Alexander tetradrachms were struck at Amphipolis, Lampsacus, Side, Salamis in Cyprus. The posthumous Alexander tetradrachms were struck at Amphipolis, Sardis, Miletus, Antigonea (ad Orontem), Accho, and Babylon. The 212 Alexander drachms are practically all posthumous and are of various Western and North-Western Asia Minor mints, mostly from the end of the fourth century (ending with the conquest of Asia Minor by Lysimachus). Only a few drachms are post-Lysimachus. Of the Lysimachus coins in the hoard the contemporary ones were coined at Lysimachia, Lampsacus, and Heraclea. The posthumous ones are from various mints (most of them some-

what uncertain) in the Propontic region. Although the Tell Halaaf hoard was, like the Mesopotamia hoard, buried in the reign of Antiochus III, its Alexander and Lysimachus coins do not come down to quite so late a period. It is interesting to note that none of the Lysimachus coins in *either* hoard come from the prolific mints of Pella and Amphipolis. In addition to a few (*very* few) examples from Aenus and Lysimachia the coins are almost exclusively from Lysimachus' mints in Western and North-Western Asia Minor."

(6) A little more diversified is the hoard of *Edessa* (Urfa); Noe, 1147. 197 ar. The bulk here belongs to the Seleucids (from Antiochus I to Antiochus III; the last's share is more than 60); next come Alexander and Lysimachus; the Attalids are absent; their place is taken by Antigonus Gonatas and perhaps Doson (6 coins), and Prusias I (8).

(7) The last in this series is the hoard recently found at *Susa*; Noe, 1024. Note that the hoard consisted of copper coins exclusively, and must be compared with the stray finds in Dura and Seleucia. Local coinage prevails, as was to be expected: Seleucus I and Antiochus III (16 coins), Mithridates I of Parthia (108 coins), a local dynast (otherwise unknown) Tigraios (60) and one plated coin of Kamnaskires.

The material produced above (i.e. the coin hoards of the Eastern part of the Hellenistic world of the second half of the third century B.C. and the early second century B.C.) convey first and foremost the idea of an effort made by the members of the Hellenistic balance of power to keep up the unity of the Hellenistic world as regards money circulation: their common Attic standard and first and foremost the abundance of Philippi, Alexanders, and Lysimachi which were put in circulation by various mints (note that it was Anatolian and to a certain extent Syrian mints which struck most of the posthumous Alexanders and Lysimachi) were the vehicles of this unity. The currency of the Eastern part of the Hellenistic world appears to us as international in its very essence. No efforts to specifically enforce one or another currency in one or another of the Hellenistic states are noticeable. The exclusive use of Seleucid small change at Beth-zur and Gezer and at Dura and Seleucia as revealed by the finds is a natural phenomenon, since in Hellenistic

times the cities founded by Alexander, Seleucus, and his successors had no right of coinage. The fact corresponds in its significance to the circulation in the cities of Asia Minor of their own bronze currency for local use (e.g. Priene).

However, in the Seleucid kingdom we notice some phenomena which cannot be explained by the above-mentioned tendency towards unifying and internationalizing the gold and silver currency alone. It is striking to note how much, in the heart of the Seleucid kingdom, the international Philippi, Alexanders, and Lysimachi prevailed over the Seleucid royal currency. These international coins were struck partly in cities which were situated in Asia Minor, especially in the North and North-Western Asia Minor. We cannot exactly date the posthumous Alexanders and Lysimachi, and cannot therefore say with certainty whether the places where they were minted were at the time of this minting in the hands of the Seleucids or in the sphere of their political influence. However, in some cases it is certain that the international Alexanders and Lysimachi were minted by cities which were not subject to or allied with the Seleucids. They were foreign currency. Add the respectable numbers of foreign dynastic coins (especially the ever-increasing numbers of the Attalid coins) which appear to have circulated freely in Syria. It is therefore probable that the coinage of the Seleucid's was not abundant enough to cover the needs of their Empire, and that they welcomed the circulation of foreign and especially "international" coins inside of it. The majority of these coins came from Asia Minor, where the political rôle played by the Attalids was constantly growing in the second half of the third and in the early second century B.C.

The only reason which I am able to detect for the phenomenon mentioned above, apart from the tendency towards unity, may be sought in one peculiarity, from the economic point of view, of the kingdom of the Seleucids. Rich in all sorts of natural resources and a transit land for the profitable caravan commerce of Arabia, India, and Iranian lands the Seleucid kingdom was very poor in metals, especially in silver. The main source of silver for the southern part of the Hellenistic world was Asia Minor, with its rich silver mines scattered all over the peninsula, especially in the region of the Taurus and that of Mount Ida. The mines were

known and in exploitation from prehistoric times. The Cappadocian tablets show that Babylonia and Mesopotamia derived their supply of silver from Cappadocian silver mines, while Syria and Phoenicia probably drew their supply of silver from the mines of South-Eastern Anatolia. In the East very few silver mines existed and were worked. We know of some silver mines in India and Persia, and the wealth of Carmania in metals is praised by Strabo.¹

The early Seleucids, while in control of Asia Minor and Carmania, had therefore had an abundant supply of silver. However, they very soon lost their control of the mines round Mount Ida, which became the property of Bithynian and Pergamene kings and of those of Pontus and Cappadocia. On the other hand, Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia became dominions of the Ptolemies. How long the Seleucids kept Carmania we do not know. The expedition of Antiochus III to the East shows that the prestige of the Seleucids in these regions was in a constant state of decline. It was probably Carmanian gold and silver which filled the sanctuaries of the Susiana or Elymais, which were "robbed" of their accumulated wealth by Antiochus III and Antiochus IV and after them by the Parthian kings (Strabo, XVI, 744).

No wonder that the Seleucids welcomed the circulation of international foreign silver coins in their Empire. In exchange for it they gave their caravan-goods, those which came from Arabia and India via Gerrha and those which came from the Iranian lands. By the Euphrates route, these goods reached the great trade routes of Asia Minor. The Anatolian, Macedonian, Thracian, and Greek merchants were ready to buy these goods, since in this way they

¹ On the sources of silver in the Near East, Besnier, art. "Metalla," in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. d. Ant.*; H. Blümner, *RE*, III A, p. 17 f.; M. Hiltzheimer, art. "Vorderasien," *Realenc. d. Vorgesch.*, 14 (1929), p. 184, with a map showing the distribution of mines; M. Cary, "The sources of silver for the Greek world," *Mél. Glotz*, 1932, pp. 133 ff. On the mines of silver of Asia Minor, in particular for the early times (Cappadocian tablets), A. Götz, "Kleinasien," *Handb. d. Altertumswiss.*, III, I, 3 (1933), p. 73, and for the Hellenistic times (the Pergamene kingdom) my article, "Notes on the Econ. Policy of the Pergamene kings," *Anatol. St. pres. to Sir William Ramsay*, 1923, p. 367. Silver in India, Carmania, and Bactria—Ktesias, in *Phot. bibl.*, p. 46, B, 25; Diod., II, 36, 2; Plin., VI, 67; Strabo, XV, 726. Modern silver mines in Persia—*Enciclop. Ital.*, art. "Persia," p. 815, and map, p. 814. From the Spanish silver the Seleucids were cut off by the Ptolemies, the friends and partners of the Carthaginians, while Macedonian silver probably hardly satisfied the needs of the Antigonids and of Greece.

escaped the monopoly of the Ptolemies and their arbitrary prices for caravan-goods. The cost of land transport was of course higher for the Seleucid than for the Ptolemaic caravan-goods, but nevertheless the Seleucids were able to compete with the Ptolemies with fair success. How much they used the sea route is difficult to say. We must not forget that the Ptolemies were for long periods of time the undisputed masters of the Eastern Mediterranean.

After Magnesia and Apamea and the crushing defeat of Antiochus III by the Romans, which followed his seizure of the Palestinian and Phoenician dominions of the Ptolemies, two new factors came into play in the economic life of the Seleucid Empire. The Seleucids lost the whole of Asia Minor for good and all, but at the same time they re-established for a while their authority in the East and got hold of the Palestinian and Phoenician cities, connected as they were from time immemorial with the caravan trade of Western Arabia which hitherto was completely in the hands of the Ptolemies.

The new factors mentioned above were reflected immediately in the coin circulation of the Seleucid Empire, as may be gathered from the numerous and peculiar coin hoards of the times of Antiochus IV and his immediate successors. The peculiarity of these coin hoards was first emphasized by Regling in his paper quoted above. However, Regling did not notice some important differences between the coin hoards of this period and those of the preceding one.

Several coin hoards of this time were found in Syria and Mesopotamia, and their numbers are constantly growing. Regling registered and described four of them. At least five more have appeared on the coin market since 1928. Let me give a list of them in chronological order: Aleppo, before the death of Antiochus IV in 164 B.C. (Noe, 31); two hoards of about 160 B.C.: North Syria (Noe, 1033, Regling, 3), and the fine hoard of Ain-Tab (Noe, 24); three still later hoards: the interesting hoard of Latakiah of 160-155 B.C. or 157-153 B.C. (Noe, 603, Regling, 1), the varied hoard of Babylon of about 150 B.C. (Noe, 116, Regling, pp. 98 ff.), and another hoard of Aleppo of 150-137 B.C. (Noe, 30, Regling, 2); the hoard of Haiffa of about 145-140 B.C. (Noe, 475,

Regling, 4), and finally a hoard of North Syria of the time of Tryphon (143-2-139-8 B.C.), (E. T. Newell, *Num. Notes and Mon.*, 82 (1938), pp. 21 ff.), and another undated of the same region.

Later hoards of the same type are hitherto unknown. The hoard of Mandali in Assyria of 90-85 B.C. (Noe, 1081, Regling, 7), which shows some similarities with the above-mentioned hoards, stands by itself. In general the later hoards of the Seleucid Empire (below, p. 298) show features different from those mentioned above. [Actually, the "Mandali" hoard was found in or near Teheran. *Note of Mr. Newell.*]

Let me describe some of these hoards, especially those not registered by Regling, more in detail:—

(1) Aleppo: rich hoard of about 1931; Noe, 31. I owe some details on this hoard to the kindness of Mr. E. T. Newell and M. H. Seyrig. The hoard consisted of many tetradrachms (some came into the hands of Mr. Newell, some were bought by Mr. Seyrig, who was kind enough to give me four of them, now in the collection of the University of Yale): Alexander's tetradrachms minted at Aspendus and Phaselis, and many tetradrachms of Side. Almost all the above described coins bore Seleucid counter-marks (anchor and Helios' head). Also four tetradrachms of Antiochus IV. The coins of this find now in Yale are: one tetr. of Side of the usual type, and three Alexanders, one of Aspendus, another of Phaselis (the first with the date $\kappa\gamma'$ and the second with the date $\lambda\gamma'$), both with the counter-mark anchor, and a third of uncertain mint with the date $\kappa\epsilon'$ and the counter-mark Helios.

(2) Syria: dispersed hoard of 1929 or 1930; noticed by Mr. H. Seyrig and not registered by Noe. Mr. Seyrig gave me the following information on this hoard: "In 1929 or 1930 appeared on the bazaars of Syria many tetradrachms of Cyme, Heraclea of Ionia, and of Magnesia on the Maeander. Those of Cyme bore—in part—the name of the magistrate Straton." [See below, No. 6.]

(3) Ain-Tab: Noe, 24. The hoard appeared on the market in 1921. How many coins were found is unknown. Mr. E. T. Newell bought ninety-six silver tetradrachms. All these coins are Alexanders. About them Mr. Newell writes me as follows: "The cities which minted such of the Ain-Tab Alexander coins as I myself happened to see, are: Temnus, Mytilene, Colophon,

Miletus, Caunus, Alabanda, Aspendus, Phaselis and a city which *only* placed *dates*, and nothing else, upon its coins. It must have been some large and important city, both because the coins are common and probably only a large metropolis would leave off its name. I have therefore always felt that these coins should *probably* be assigned to Side, but have no proof. I only saw about half of the Ain-Tab hoard, and so cannot vouch for what was contained in the remainder. Phaselis was represented by fifteen coins, Aspendus by forty-four, and the unknown city by thirty-two coins, the other places by *one* coin only per city." Six coins of this find are reproduced on Pl. X.

(4) Latakieh; known since 1759. More than one hundred tetradrachms. Most of them Alexanders minted at Assus, Cyme, Myrina, Methymna, Mytilene, Clazomenae, Colophon, Ephesus, Erythrae, Magnesia, Miletus, Chios, Mylasa, Aspendus, Aradus, and an undetermined city. Beside Lysimachi, one tetradrachm of Mithridates III of Pontus and seventeen of the Seleucids, from Seleucus I to Antiochus IV. In addition there were several tetradrachms of Ilium, Alabanda, and of Side (the last with Seleucid counter-marks).

(5) Babylon. Not a very large hoard (about 100 ar.), but consisting of a great variety of coins, all of course of the Attic standard. The bulk again is formed by Alexanders (42) and Lysimachi (11). The coins of Alexander come from various mints, most of them Anatolian (Assus, Myrina, Cyme, Temnus, Mytilene, Smyrna, Colophon, Magnesia Ion., Phaselis, Aspendus. In addition Callatis and Mesembria, Chios, Cos, and Rhodes). The Lysimachi came from the mints of Byzantium, Calchedon, and Halicarnassus. Less numerous are the dynastic coins: the Seleucids (Seleucus II, Antiochus IV, Demetrius I—16 coins), the Attalids (Eumenes II and Attalus II—8 coins), and Mithridates I of Pontus (1). In addition there were several city coins, mostly of Asia Minor; Cyzicus, Alexandria Troas, Ilium, Side, Mytilene, Chios, but also Eretria, Athens and Samothrace. Many of the Alexanders and of the tetradrachms of the cities of Asia Minor bear Seleucid counter-marks.

(6) A dispersed hoard of which a few coins were bought by E. T. Newell. The coins of his collection from this hoard are tetradrachms of Heraclea in Ionia and Lebedus in Ionia. The



1-6. Alexanders of the hoard of Aïn-Tab of the collection of E. T. Newell.

1-2. Aspendus.

3. Phaselis.

6. Alabanda Antiochia. The Pegasus type appears on the second century autonomous silver of this city.

4-5. Uncertain. Mr. E. T. Newell remarks about them: "The two companion pieces (but without mintmarks) are still uncertain. In style, fabric and association (always found in the same hoards with the similar coins of Phaselis and Aspendus) they must be from a mint in the region Lycia-Pamphylia. Their dates are a practically unbroken series from one to thirty-eight or nine. As they bear no mintmark it is likely they were struck in some important city, and thus Side or Perge come to mind. But both of these mints also struck

[Continued on Plate XI.]

interesting feature of this hoard is the counter-marks: the Macedonian helmet, the badge of Tryphon, the tutor and murderer of Antiochus VI (E. T. Newell, *l.c.*, pp. 21 ff.). This counter-mark appears as is well known on the coins minted by Tryphon at Antioch. [According to Mr. Seyrig, this hoard is the same as No. 2.]

The main characteristic features of the hoards mentioned and described above are as follows: (1) The leading rôle in them is still played by the posthumous Alexanders and Lysimachus silver tetradrachms and drachms, some of them bearing a Seleucid counter-mark (anchor, Helios' head). Many of them were minted in mints of several (mostly Anatolian) cities. (2) Next to the Alexanders and Lysimachi are coins, mostly tetradrachms of various cities of Asia Minor, partly with Seleucid counter-marks. (3) Alongside of these two groups appear occasionally coins of various cities of Greece and of the Greek islands in part with Seleucid counter-marks. (4) Beside these coins large quantities of dynastic coins are present: Seleucid coins of course prevail, but alongside of them are noticeable ever-increasing numbers of Attalid coins (esp. Eumenes II and Attalus II) and occasionally coins of the kings of Pontus and Bithynia. (5) It is worthy of note that while Anatolian dynastic and city coins appear in large numbers the early cistophores are absent.¹ Most of the coins found in the above-mentioned hoards

¹ It is interesting to note in this connexion that while the early cistophores of Asia Minor are completely absent from the hoards of Syria they were circulating in large masses in Asia Minor and probably in Greece also in the early second century B.C. This is attested not so much by the hoards as by the evidence we have on the constituent parts of the war booty brought back to Rome from Greece and Asia Minor by the victorious Roman generals (the description of the booty will be found mostly in Livy). Thus M. Acilius Glabrio's booty taken in Aetolia in 190 B.C. consisted among other things of 113,000 Attic tetradrachms and 249,000 cistophores. L. Aemilius Regillus, after a victory over an admiral of Antiochus III in 189 B.C., got 34,000 Attic tetradrachms and 132,000 cistophores. Scipio Asiaticus, in his triumph over Antiochus III exhibited 224,000 Attic tetradrachms and 321,000 cistophores. Cn. Manlius Vulso, in his triumph over Galatia in 187 B.C., produced among other things 127,000 Attic tetradrachms and 250,000 cistophores. As regards gold the main currency of the time were the Philippi. Note that in the earlier triumph of Flamininus over Philip and Nabis mention is made of Attic tetradrachms but of no cistophores. See Liv., XXXIV, 52, 4-11; XXXVII, 46, 4; 59, 3-4; XXXIX, 7, 1. Cf. W. Kroll, *Die Kultur der Ciceronischen Zeit*, 1933, pp. 88 ff.; Ch. Seltman, *Greek Coins*, 1933, p. 239; T. Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, I, 1933, pp. 130 ff.; J. A. O. Larsen, *Roman Greece*, *ibid.*, IV, 1938, pp. 313 ff., cf. p. 325 f. and p. 331 f. There are no serious reasons for regarding the statements of Livy, borrowed probably from Valerius Antias, as inexact. From these statements it may be derived that the main currencies of the time in Asia Minor and Greece

are worn out and were apparently in circulation for a long time. (7) All the coins of the hoards mentioned above are of the Attic standard. No coins of the Ptolemies appear among them.

These coin hoards are highly interesting. In general they do not differ very much from the coin hoards of the preceding period. They show the same international character and the same predominance of foreign coins over the Seleucid currency.

However, there are some new traits. One is the active and almost exclusive part taken in the coinage which circulated in Syria by the mints of Asia Minor, not by the royal but by the city mints, mints of cities which were mostly cities of the Pergamene kingdom. The other is a fact known to numismatists from the time of H. P. Borrell, i.e. that the Anatolian tetradrachms had almost no circulation in Asia Minor itself, but were spread far and wide all over Syria and were regarded in Syria as legal currency.¹ In fact, I know of few hoards found in Asia Minor which were somewhat similar to the coin hoards of Syria (Noe, 926, Sardis and Noe, 40, Amasia).² Moreover, it is very probable that the coins minted in the above-mentioned cities were not admitted for circulation in other cities of Asia Minor without special permission of the city authorities, testified by special counter-marks. Thus we find tetradrachms of Temnus with a counter-mark of Priene, and many tetradrachms of Side bear counter-marks of various cistophoric cities of Asia Minor (see Pl. XI, coins of Side of the coll. E. T. Newell). I draw the attention of the reader to the fact noted above that the cistophores never appear in the hoards and stray finds of Syria.³

were the Attic tetradrachms and the cistophores. However, the Attic tetradrachms in the booty taken by Regillus, Scipio Asiaticus and Manlius Vulso were probably not the tetradrachms minted at Athens but those of the Attic standard which circulated, as has been shown before, in Syria and in Asia Minor in the early second century as a kind of international currency. The cistophores of Acilius Glabrio may have been taken from the troops of Antiochus III (Larsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 319) and represented a part of the war chest of his army. This shows that they were well known in Greece. The large rôle played by the cistophores in the booty of Regillus, Scipio and Vulso demonstrates that they were the chief currency of Asia Minor in the early second century. However, the hoards of Syria described above show that they did not penetrate into Syria, while very popular in the Greek world.

¹ H. P. Borrell, *Num. Chron.*, 6 (1844), p. 156; W. Wroth, *BM Cat.*, Troas, Aeolis and Lesbos, p. lvii; L. Robert, "Inscriptions d'Aiolide," *BCH*, 57 (1933), p. 495, n. 1, and p. 497.

² Note that in the second half of the second century coin hoards of Asia Minor consist almost exclusively of cistophores, e.g. Noe, No. 988, Smyrna; Noe, Nos. 80 and 87, Asia Minor.

³ G. F. Hill, *BM Cat.*, Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, p. lxxxvii.



- 7-12. Tetradrachms of Side (stray finds) of the collection of E. T. Newell.
All of them bear countermarks, either Seleucid or of some cistophoric cities.
- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 7. Countermarked at Tralles. | 8. Countermark : Seleucid anchor. |
| 9. Countermarked at Apamea. | 10. Countermarked at Synnada. |
| 11. Countermark : Bee (Ephesus?). | 12. For this countermark see B.M.C.
<i>Lycia</i> , p. LXXXIII. |

autonomous tetradrachms in large numbers at about this time, so the suggestion is doubtful. Failing that, we might well think of Selge which in the early days struck so many staters almost identical with Aspendus. The whole question needs very much more particular study."

The two phenomena described above—the municipalization and the pergamenization of the silver currency which was so widely used in the Seleucid kingdom—require explanation. They cannot be interpreted as a natural development of the conditions of the third century.

We see an economic policy behind them, a kind of *entente cordiale* between the Seleucids and the Attalids. It was certainly the Attalids who increased the international silver coinage of Alexanders and Lysimachi of their Empire and they did it in order to satisfy Syria. And it was certainly the same Attalids who gave a uniform character to the minting activity of the cities which, free or not free, lay inside the boundaries of their Empire and were dependent on them.

The leading motives of the Attalids in acting in this manner are easy to understand. They looked for a good market for their silver. Masters of most of the silver mines in Asia Minor, they certainly intensified the production of these mines and were eager to place their products to advantage. It was probably not without their encouragement that alongside of large commercial cities, many small and insignificant cities of Aeolis and Lydia, of Troas, of Caria and Paphlagonia embarked on their venture in the field of silver minting.¹ Note that all the groups of cities of Asia Minor are geographically well situated, both for getting the raw material and for forwarding it to Syria. We can hardly think that the minting cities—important or unimportant—owned silver mines. It is more than probable that the raw material was supplied to them by the kings, who in all probability were the owners of the mines. Why the Attalids had recourse to the good services of the cities is hard to say. It was much more natural for them to increase their own royal coinage. However, they preferred the other way. About the same time they adopted the same policy as regards the

¹ Let me give here a list of cities which are represented in the hoards under review, partly emitting posthumous coins of Alexander, partly their own silver currency. (1) Troas : Assus, Ilium, Alexandria Troas, Cyzicus. (2) Mysia : Pergamon. (3) Aeolis, Ionia, and Lydia : Cyme, Myrina, Temnus, Clazomenae, Colophon, Ephesus, Erythrae, Heraclea Ion. (4) Caria : Miletus, Magnesia on the Maeander, Caunus, Alabanda (Antiochia), Mylasa. (5) Pamphylia and Lycia : Aspendus, Side, Perge, Phaselis. (6) Phoenicia : Aradus. (7) Islands : Lesbos (Methymna and Mytilene), Chios, Rhodes, Cos, Samothrace. (8) Mainland of Greece : Athens, Eretria.

cistophores. Note that other kings, namely Antiochus IV and the Macedonian kings, acted in the same way as regards several cities of their kingdoms. Was this action taken in order to have partners in the risks of the new business venture? Or was it the intention of the Attalids, of Antiochus IV and of the Antigonids to enrich the cities of their kingdoms and win their loyal support? Or did the kings derive some substantial profits from the minting operations of the cities? Who knows?

Be it as it may, it is certain that the output of coined money of a special type, especially silver, was substantially increased by Eumenes II and Attalus II, and that this was done in agreement with the Seleucids. It means of course that the money was to serve the commercial policy of the two kingdoms, i.e. that behind this monetary policy stood a commercial policy. The gist of this commercial policy may be as follows. After the occupation of Palestine, Phoenicia, and Coele Syria, the Seleucids were in control of most of the Arabian, Indian, and Chinese caravan trade. Very little of it was left in the hands of the Ptolemies. The development of the caravan trade required an intensification of coinage. The abundant currency of the Ptolemies disappeared from Syria and could not serve any more as the vehicle of the Palestinian, Phoenician, and Syrian trade. Bitter hostility and commercial competition reigned between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies. The only way open to the Seleucids to increase the volume of their silver currency and to replace the Ptolemaic silver was to turn to the Attalids, masters of the main silver supply of the Near East. And the Attalids were ready to help, provided the Seleucids directed their trade not to Alexandria or to Rhodes and Delos but to the harbours of the Attalid Empire. The best and safest way to do so was to use the land route. However, the sea route was not entirely out of the question, though the use of the sea route almost necessarily meant that the lion's share in the trade was taken away from the Attalids by Rhodes and Delos.

The period of the *entente cordiale* between Pergamon and Syria and of their common monetary and commercial policy did not last for very long. The city coins of Anatolia and the Alexanders and Lysimachi of the Anatolian mints soon disappeared from circulation. They are not found in the Syrian hoards of the late

second and of the first centuries B.C.¹ And so did the coins of the Attalids. Seleucid coins prevail in the hoards in the period under review. Alexanders, Lysimachi and Anatolian city coins either disappear completely or still linger as survivals. Beside them we find some foreign dynastic coins (but not of the Attalids) and many coins of the now autonomous cities of Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine. It is significant that in several hoards we find comparatively large numbers of Athenian coins of the new style, and that Arabian dynasts (after 115 B.C.) began to imitate the Athenian owls of the new style (G. F. Hill, *BM Cat.*, Arabia, etc., pp. liv ff.), while previously only some minor kings, neighbours of the Seleucids, issued imitations of the chief currency of the time—the coins of Alexander.

Let me illustrate this statement by some hoards. On the threshold of the new era stands the rich and highly interesting hoard of Susa, recently published by J. M. Unvala (*Rev. Num.*, 38 (1935), pp. 155 ff.; Noe, 1023), of about 144 B.C. It contained 93 ar. (probably buried before the Parthians conquered Susiana). The bulk was formed by the coins of the Seleucids from Antiochus I to Demetrius II. In addition to those, we find coins of Lysimachus and one coin of Aradus. Very interesting is the appearance of coins of Kamnaskires (?) and four imitations of Alexander's tetradrachms issued by an Aramaean king (unknown) and perhaps by an early Nabataean king (Aretas I?). A little later are the hoards of Tarsus (Noe, 1063) and of Tripolis in Phoenicia (Noe, 1130). The first (of about 112 B.C.) contained about 200 ar., all Seleucid from Antiochus VII to Antiochus VIII, the second (520 ar.)—Seleucid coins from Demetrius II to Antiochus IX and autonomous coins of Aradus and Tripolis.

The same picture is presented by Palestine. At Nablus was found a hoard of 400 ar. of about 125 B.C. (Noe, 727): we have coins of Antiochus VII and Demetrius II and of Tyre. It is highly

¹ What happened to the enormous masses of the Alexanders? Many of them without doubt were melted down and reminted as Seleucid coins. However, it is very probable that they remained in circulation in Asia Minor and Greece until the time of the Roman Empire. The epigraphists know that the ἀργύριον Ἀλεξάνδρειον so common in inscriptions of the Hellenistic times appears occasionally in the Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor and of the islands of the Roman period, e.g. the inscriptions of Chios—J. Vanseveren, *Rev. Phil.*, 11 (1937), pp. 334 ff., No. 9, and *CIG*, 2214 (addenda). A full collection of evidence on this point is highly desirable.

significant that in this hoard we find for the first time after the end of the Ptolemaic domination coins of the Ptolemies (Ptolemy II (Tyre) and two Ptolemaic tetradrachms).¹

The East of the same period presents the same aspect with one very important new trait. At Til Barsip (F. Thureau-Dangin and M. Dunand, *Til Barsip*, 1936, p. 81) was found a hoard (not in Noe) which consisted of Seleucid tetradrachms (Antiochus VII, Demetrius II, Antiochus VIII and IX) and of many Athenian coins of the new style.

Let me conclude this short list by mentioning the very interesting hoard of Mandali in Assyria (Noe, 1081; Regling, No. 7) of about 640 ar., to which the date 90-85 B.C. may be assigned. It represents, with its Alexanders, its Ariarathes VII (Cappadocia), and its coins of Magnesia, a survival of the older times, while the many coins of the late Seleucids (from Antiochus IV to Antiochus IX), of the kings of Bactria and of Parthia, of Tyre, and especially of Athens (new style), are typical for the new period.

The meaning of the late Seleucid hoards is evident. The Pergamene influence came to an end with the disappearance of the Attalids. The old commercial relations were not renewed. No cistophores appear in the late Seleucid hoards, while they are numerous in the hoard of Battaglia in Italy (about 77 B.C.) (Noe, 130; Regling, No. 13) alongside some Eastern coins (Demetrius I, Tyre, Eucratides, Lysimachus)—an eloquent testimony to the brisk commercial relations between Italy and Asia Minor on one side and Italy and Syria (direct) on the other. The Syrian export trade apparently changed its route. The land route through Asia Minor was abandoned. The Syrian caravan goods were now shipped to Delos by sea. We know how brilliantly the commerce between Syria and Delos developed in the late second and early first centuries B.C. The Athenian owls of Til Barsip and Mandali, testify to these relations with Delos. At the same time the dividing line between Egypt and Syria vanished. Ptolemaic influence in Syria was strong both in politics and commerce. The period of an Eastern block opposed to Egypt with its Western orientation came to an end.

¹ Similar is the picture presented by an Egyptian hoard found at Sewenrod of c. 55 B.C. (Noe, 955). We find here as remnants of the past forty-three tetr. of Side and eight tetr. of Ptolemy Auletes. The Side tetr. came most probably to Egypt from Syria.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROVINCE OF CILICIA

by RONALD SYME

I. CILICIA : AREA AND FUNCTION

THE Roman province of Cilicia is an elusive entity.¹ Naturally enough, given its origin and its name. Beginning in the year 102 B.C. as the maritime command of M. Antonius against the pirates of the southern coast of Asia Minor, this *provincia* usurped at once the title of Cilicia,² and before long acquired territory and permanence.³ "Cilicia" is the most ambiguous of terms; and Cilicians can dispute with Phrygians the claim to widest extension among the peoples of Asia Minor. In the loose language of geography or of ethnography, Cilicia can denote both the coast eastward from Pamphylia in the direction of Syria and the interior to the north, covering parts of Pisidia, Lycaonia, and even Cappadocia.⁴ Any pirates or brigands in those territories could without impropriety be called "Cilices." Yet in the beginning and for nearly forty years, the regions of Cilicia proper, both the rough and the smooth, lay outside the limits of the Roman province.

¹ On the history of the province under the late Republic, see Mommsen u. Marquardt, *Handbuch der r. Altertümer*, IV² (1881), 379 ff. (French trans., IX, 311 ff.); W. M. Ramsay, *A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (1899), section 11: *Origin of the Province Galatia*, 103 ff.; H. A. Ormerod, "The Campaigns of Servilius Isauricus against the Pirates," *JRS*, XII (1922), 35 ff.; id., *CAH*, IX, 354 ff.; D. Vaglieri, *Diz. epigrafico*, s.v. "Cilicia" (1892), 225 ff.; A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (1937), 64 f.; 132 ff.; 202 ff. My debt to the last-named work is considerable and continuous.

² SEG, III, 378 (c. 100 B.C.: Delphi), B, § 7 f.: τήν τε Κιλικίαν διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας κτλ.

³ It was when governor of Cilicia in 92 B.C. that Sulla made dispositions in Cappadocia and marched to the Euphrates (Appian, *Mithr.*, 57).

⁴ To Herodotus, the Halys flowed διὰ Κιλικίων (I, 72); and the "Eleventh Strategia" of Cappadocia was Cilician (Strabo, p. 534). The usage went back to very early times. For Cilicia with the meaning of Lycaonia, cf. also Appian, *BC*, 5, 75, 319; *Mithr.*, 75.

"Pamphylia" would have been a more correct designation : and "Pamphylia" is attested.¹

After Sulla's reorganization of Asia Minor, the province of Cilicia extended some way to the north from the coast of Pamphylia through Pisidia towards Phrygia and Lycaonia : how far, it is uncertain.² P. Servilius (*cos.* 79 B.C.), proconsul of Cilicia from 78 to 74, was active on the northern side of the Taurus. His conquest of the Oroandeis and Isaurians perhaps presupposed—and certainly produced—direct Roman control over Lycaonia. Isauria in its earliest and restricted sense, namely the region about Isaura Vetus and Isaura Nova, could quite properly be described as a part of Lycaonia.³ The direction of Servilius' line of march is uncertain ;⁴ but even Servilius did not annex either Cilicia Tracheia or Cilicia Pedias. About the territories northwards, in the hinterland, precision is baffled by the confusion of a period of wars. Finally, however, Pompeius made a settlement which aimed, so it may be presumed, at some permanence. Abolishing the kingdom of the Seleucids, or rather recognizing its extinction, he added Syria and Cilicia Pedias to the empire of Rome. Hence a new province, Syria (64 B.C.) : but Pedias was attached to the existing province of Cilicia, which, enlarged on this flank, now lost whatever Phrygian territory it may previously have embraced.

¹ Cicero, *In Verrem*, II, I, 93 ; Athenaeus 5, p. 213a.

² Mommsen and Marquardt (*o.c.*, French trans., 313 f.) and V. Chapot (*La province romaine proconsulaire d'Asie* (1904), 78 f.) suggest that when Cn. Cornelius Dolabella was proconsul, in 80-79 B.C., his province included two of the dioceses of Phrygia (Apamea and Synnada) : Laodicea certainly lay outside it, as emerges from *In Verrem*, II, I, 72 ff. Cicero's description of the province is vague and rhetorical—"Lyciam, Pamphyliam, Pisidiam Phrygiamque totam" (*In Verrem*, II, I, 95). "Tota Phrygia" is not enough to prove that the two dioceses of Phrygia then belonged to the province of Cilicia. According to A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities*, 132, "only those parts adjacent to Pisidia," i.e., only Phrygia-towards-Pisidia ? Cilicia received another consular governor in 78 B.C., P. Servilius : in 74 his successor was L. Octavius (*cos.* 75), who died almost at once. The operations of Servilius north of the Taurus surely presuppose the control of a wide extent of territory to the east of the province of Asia.

³ Strabo, p. 568. On the different meanings of "Isauria," cf. W. M. Ramsay, *JRS*, VII (1917), 277 ff. Ultimately it came to comprise Cilicia Tracheia.

⁴ For a full discussion, H. A. Ormerod, *JRS*, XII (1922), 35 ff. Ormerod argues that Servilius invaded Isauria from the direction of the Pamphylian coast, crossing the Taurus. Yet he might have come from Phrygia, from the west or north-west. A few years later Q. Marcius Rex (in 67 B.C.) marched "per Lycaoniam cum tribus legionibus in Ciliciam" (Sallust, *Hist.*, 5, 14M). He may even have passed through Cilicia and reached Antioch ; cf. G. Downey, "Q. Marcius Rex at Antioch," *CP*, XXXII (1937), 144 ff. (drawing upon Malalas, p. 225, Bonn).

Phrygia as a whole was divided by the Romans into three dioceses or *conventus*. The principal and assize-cities were Laodicea ad Lycum, Apamea and Synnada. The earlier history of Roman Phrygia is very obscure: after Pompeius' settlement, the three dioceses were certainly united to the province of Asia in the years 62-56 B.C.¹ In those six years the history of Cilicia, however, is a complete blank. The name of not a single proconsul has been preserved—a deplorable loss for Roman political history, for these men, like the earliest governors of Syria, would almost certainly be adherents of Pompeius.² It has even been conjectured that Pompeius at first united Syria and Cilicia into one province: ³ improbable, but not altogether absurd—at least until 58-57, when Gabinius became proconsul of Syria. There is no indication at all that Gabinius exercised authority over Cilicia.

However that may be, with the year 56 comes a change, stability for six years, ascertainable boundaries, and an abundance of information. The evidence is quite clear—in 56 B.C. a wide region of the interior, namely the three dioceses of Laodicea, Apamea, and Synnada, was detached from Asia and assigned to Cilicia.⁴ The island of Cyprus had already been annexed in 58;

¹ W. H. Waddington, *Fastes des provinces asiatiques*, I (1872), 57 ff. This emerges from certain details about the proconsulates of L. Valerius Flaccus and Q. Tullius Cicero (62-58 B.C.). Further, coins: C. Fabius and T. Ampius Balbus were proconsuls of Asia in 58-57 and 57-56 respectively (Waddington, 57 ff.). Cistophori of Fabius were minted at both Apamea and Laodicea, of Ampius at Apamea (*BM Cat.*, *Phrygia*, xxxiii, lxxiv f.). Cistophori of Ephesus show that both Fabius and Ampius were proconsuls of Asia (*BM Cat.*, *Ionian*, 67). The dating, given correctly by Waddington, is reversed by the *BM catalogues* and by V. Chapot, *La province romaine proconsulaire d'Asie*, 78. That T. Ampius Balbus was proconsul in 57-56 is proved by Cicero, *ad fam.*, 3, 7, 5: cf. also, 1, 3, 2.

² Appian, *Syr.*, 51, reveals the governors of Syria in 64-58 B.C., namely, M. Aemilius Scaurus, L. Marcius Philippus, and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus. Scaurus was Pompeius' stepson; and Pompeius' relations with the Lentuli at different times are an instructive study—for an example, cf. *CQ*, XXXII (1938), 42 f. For a former legate of Pompeius having Syria in prospect as his province, see the next footnote.

³ D. Vaglieri, *Diz. Ep.*, 226. He points to the fact that the tribute of Cilicia and of Syria was assessed on the same scale. No proof. Nor has he noticed Cicero, *Ad Att.*, 1, 16, 8 (July, 61 B.C.): "Pisonem consulem nulla in re consistere umquam sum passus, desponsam homini iam Syriam ademi." This was M. Pupius Piso, legate under Pompeius in the East and consul in 61 B.C. (cf. esp. Dio, 37, 44, 3). Note further Josephus (*AJ*, 14, 79), who says that Pompeius left a garrison of two legions in Cilicia.

⁴ Cistophori of the three proconsuls P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, Ap. Claudius Pulcher, and M. Tullius Cicero, coined at Apamea and at Laodicea (*BM Cat.*, *Phrygia*, xxxiii and 72 f.; lxxiv and 281 f.). The omission of the three dioceses from a certain

the status of Lycia is uncertain.¹ The Roman province of Cilicia, with a coast-line running from the Swallow Islands to the Gulf of Alexandretta, now extended northwards in a great sweep to the southern marches of Bithynia, taking in Dorylaeum and Midaeum, thence south-eastwards, fronting in turn Galatia, Cappadocia, and Commagene, to Mount Amanus and the boundary with Syria : it embraced the regions known as the Milyas, Pamphylia, Pisidia, the three dioceses of Phrygia, Phrygia-towards-Pisidia, Phrygia Paroreios, Lycaonia, Cilicia Tracheia and Cilicia Pedias.

It was clearly convenient that the proconsul of Cilicia should go to Tarsus by land and have occupation by the way, holding assizes at Laodicea, Apamea, and Synnada.² That is not, however, the whole truth or sole reason for the transference of Phrygia to Cilicia. The enumeration of territories as set forth above reveals the nominal area, but disguises the essence and nature, of the province of Cilicia. A *provincia* is a function or a sphere of action rather than a definite region subject to regular organization. Now just as Macedonia may with propriety be regarded as the Via Egnatia and Narbonensis as the Domitia, so Cilicia in the years 56-50 B.C. is the highroad from western Asia to Syria. Very precisely so : save for his military operations on the borders of Cilicia Pedias, the proconsul Cicero hardly strayed from the road at all. He did not need to—the assize-towns were on it, all the way from Laodicea to Tarsus.

There are two main routes from west to east in Asia Minor, for the traveller must pass either north or south of the wide stretch of salt desert in the middle. Ever since the fall of the Hittite power, the southern route was the more important : indeed it is the very nerve and backbone of any imperial state that holds both Syria and western Asia Minor. The central and inevitable section, ap-

Milesian inscription enables it to be dated pretty closely (*Milet*, II, 101 f.). The transference of these regions explains the sense in which a proconsul of Cilicia could be regarded as the successor of a proconsul of Asia—"quid? Appius Lentulo, Lentulus Ampio processit obviam, Cicero Appio noluit" (*Ad fam.*, 3, 7, 5 ; cf. I, 3, 2). Hence the change belongs to the year 56 B.C. Cicero himself refers to the three *conventus* as "haec mea Asia" (*Ad Att.*, 5, 21, 8).

¹ Presumably autonomous. Lycian troops in Cicero's army (*Ad Att.*, 6, 5, 3) prove nothing. They may come from the Milyas, a part of his province, or from Lycia as "free" allies of the Roman People.

² W. M. Ramsay, *A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, 107.

proached on the eastern side from Burnt Laodicea, where the high-roads from Melitene and from the Cilician Gates of necessity came together, ran through Phrygia Paroreios (the depression some sixty miles in length between the mountains of the Emir Dagħ on the north and the Sultan Dagħ on the south). Towards this funnel also converged routes from the west, from Ephesus and from Sardis, and from the north, through Dorylaeum, all meeting in the plain of the Cayster, at the western entrance of Paroreios—a district the strategic importance of which is revealed by the name of Ipsus. Hence the main road from the west to Syria, after passing through Paroreios, proceeds by Burnt Laodicea to Iconium, thence to the Cilician Gates. Cities of immemorial antiquity like Celaenae, Thymbrium, Tyriaeum (or Tyraeum) and pre-diluvial Iconium, and Seleucid foundations with significant names, such as Apamea, (which is also Celaenae), the two Laodiceas and Philomelium, indicate something of its early history. Indeed, as has recently been demonstrated in the decisive disposal of an old problem, this was precisely the Persian Royal Road.¹ Xerxes probably followed it, marching from the Cilician Gates to Celaenae; and, conversely, Cyrus the Younger, setting out from Celaenae, after a détour northwards into Phrygia, soon rejoined the road of his "Anabasis" and entered Phrygia Paroreios.² Further, this route was evidently the vital line of communications for the Seleucid monarchs in their policy of conquering and controlling Asia Minor. They also developed an alternative way to Apamea, going south of the Sultan Dagħ through Phrygia-towards-Pisidia and linking their colonies of Antioch and Apollonia.³ The purpose of these foundations was not merely to provide protection against the Pisidian mountaineers: a southern route, in any case useful, became necessary when the Gauls arrived and menaced the central section of the Royal Road.

The military function of the Roman province of Cilicia now becomes evident. By its northerly extension towards Bithynia,

¹ W. M. Calder, "The Royal Road in Herodotus," *CR*, xxxix (1925), 7 ff.

² Namely, near *Καύστρου πεδίων* (? Ipsus), whence he marched to Thymbrium and Tyriaeum (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, I, 2, 11 ff.).

³ On the importance of this route, cf. W. M. Ramsay, "Military Operations on the North Front of Mount Taurus," *JHS*, XL (1920), 89 ff.; "Geography and History in a Phrygo-Pisidian Glen," *Geogr. Journ.*, LXI (1923), 279 ff.; "Res Anatolicae III," *Klio*, XXXII (1930), 243.

Cilicia covers Asia completely from the eastern side, takes in the backward regions and spares the need of a garrison in Asia. The proconsul of the military province of Cilicia has under his charge a long frontier and three vassal-states, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Com-magene. Hence the personal ties which Cicero and M. Brutus (the son-in-law of another proconsul, Ap. Pulcher) contracted with the Galatian Deiotarus. Not only that: the governor moving along the central road has another frontier to guard, for all along the south, from Pisidia eastwards, stretches the wild region of the Taurus, held by intractable brigand-tribes or petty dynasts nominally subject to Rome and intermittently submissive. Of the people of the Isaurians, no word since they yielded a *cognomen* to P. Servilius: their kinsmen the Homonadenses (or however they may be spelled), a "Cilician" tribe in the region around Lake Trogitis, have not yet emerged into notoriety. About Cilicia Tracheia, complete obscurity, save that the ancient Teucrid dynasty of priest-kings continued at Olba; and even in Pedias there was a vassal-king, Tarcondimotus, with his capital at Hieropolis-Castabala.¹

Sulla presumably intended that Cilicia should be a more important military province than Asia. He appointed a consular, Cn. Cornelius Dolabella (80-79). Then came two other proconsuls of consular rank, first P. Servilius (78-74), and then L. Octavius (*cos.* 75), who died almost at once; and Cilicia was the province originally assigned to Lucullus: his successor there in 67 was also a consular, Q. Marcius Rex. During this period—and subsequently under the Republic—no consular ever held Asia by itself as his province. These facts will suffice to demonstrate that Cilicia was the paramount military province.

Then Pompeius assumed a special command and after Pompeius there is a mysterious gap in knowledge for six years (62-56)—no mention of Cilicia, no governor named. But from 56 to 50, a series of three consulars—P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, Ap. Claudius Pulcher, and M. Tullius Cicero: all three were hailed by the army of Cilicia with the title of *imperator*. The enlarged Cilicia was clearly designed to be the most important of all the eastern provinces: the change made in 56 B.C. perhaps has some relevance

¹ The evidence for these Cilician dynasts is arranged and discussed by A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities*, 202 ff.

to Roman political history. Cilicia would have retained that rank but for the ambition of Crassus and his war against the Parthians, which brought Syria into prominence and primacy.

The repartition of the eastern lands into Roman provinces and assize-districts was often arbitrary and inconsequent. Strabo complains that the Romans introduced confusion by cutting across ethnic units for administrative purposes.¹ With justice: there were many perplexing and anomalous conglomerates. In the course of time, a change might come for the better, as when Galatia and Cappadocia, joined by Vespasian, were separated by Trajan, or when Cilicia, south Lycaonia and Isauria were united in one province by Pius. But not always. Claudius created, and Vespasian, after a brief intermission, made permanent the province of Lycia-Pamphylia.² A fictitious unity—each half retained its own individuality and its own provincial assembly. Provincial boundaries were largely unreal: they might be transcended by the provincial assemblies (*κοινά*), as in Lycia-Pamphylia, Pontus and elsewhere, or by the fiscal arrangements of the central government, as almost everywhere.³

Cilicia began as a maritime command and turned into the *provincia* of a proconsul moving backwards and forwards along a continental road. Motley and composite the province certainly was. But it was neither paradoxical nor ridiculous—it corresponded with notorious facts of geography and of history. Being such, Cilicia might have persisted. Yet, almost at once, it was reduced in area and degraded in standing. It lost the three dioceses of Asia in 49 B.C. Cicero was the last governor of consular rank. Ten, or perhaps even six years after his proconsulate, the province of Cilicia, diminishing by degrees, had ceased to exist as a separate entity. It is the purpose of the present essay to investigate the vicissitudes of the province in its last age—and also, for the sake of

¹ Strabo, p. 629: *εἰς δὲ τὴν σύγχυσιν ταύτην οὐ μικρὰ συλλαμβάνει τὸ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μὴ κατὰ φύλα διελεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ ἕτερον τρόπον διατάξαι τὰς διοικήσεις, ἐν αἷς τὰς ἀγοραίους ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰς δικαιοδοσίας.*

² Dio, 60, 17, 3; Suetonius, *Divus Claudius*, 25: cf. *Klio*, XXX (1937), 227 ff.

³ For example, the financial procurator of Galatia, active at Attaleia, in Pamphylia, under Claudius (*ILS*, 215). Note also a procurator of Cappadocia and Cilicia under Nero (*JRS*, II (1912), 99 = *L'ann. ép.*, 1914, 128), of Cilicia and Cyprus under Hadrian (*L'ann. ép.*, 1935, 167).

clarity and completeness, to indicate in what manner, not so long after, a new province emerged which, bearing a different name, yet embraced most of the area and answered to several of the functions of the old Cilicia.

Ambiguity of terminology and inadequate evidence render the whole subject obscure and intricate. Clearness can be won only at the cost of laborious detail—and tedious repetition. The enquiry does not concern Cilicia alone—it derives its origin from an attempt to establish the date of a group of Cicero's letters in the thirteenth book of the collection *Ad familiares* (43-46 and 73-74). They are six in number, and they still float unanchored within the limits of fifteen years. That is a large space of time.

II. THE PROCONSUL PHILIPPUS. (Cicero, *Ad fam.*, 13, 73-74)

Cicero commends to the proconsul, Q. Philippus, the two financiers, L. Oppius and L. Egnatius (*Ad fam.*, 13, 74); later, when Philippus has returned to Rome, Cicero duly thanks him for his services in the matter, but goes on to express his concern for a certain Antipater of Derbe, with whom Philippus is "very angry." Cicero intercedes on behalf of the sons of Antipater, hostages in the possession of Philippus (*ib.*, 73).

On the interpretation of these two letters depends the dating of four others, relating either to Oppius and Egnatius or to the officials to whom they are commended (*ib.*, 43-46). Oppius, it is stated, was established at Philomelium. He there had charge of the interests of L. Egnatius Rufus.¹ The central problem is this—was the proconsul in question, namely Q. Marcius Philippus, governor of Asia or of Cilicia? and at what date?

Conjectures have ranged widely, from 58 B.C., or even earlier, down to 44 B.C. Asia has been supported by powerful advocacy. Klebs and Cichorius suppose that Philippus was proconsul of Asia about 54 B.C.;² and Münzer seems disposed to accept that opinion.³ Among the commentators on Cicero, O. E. Schmidt, in Mendelssohn's edition, dated the whole group of letters shortly before the

¹ *Ad fam.*, 13, 43, 1. This is the only letter of the group which gives the cognomen of L. Egnatius.

² E. Klebs, *RE*, I, 2513; C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien* (1922), 168 f.

³ *RE*, V, 1999; XIV, 1580; XVIII (forthcoming), 738.

year 58.¹ Sjögren, in the recent Teubner edition, is content to follow the precedent set by Mendelssohn.² Tyrrell and Purser put the two letters to Philippus in 55 and 54; ³ at a later place in their edition, however, they show signs of wobbling, but lack courage to desert the earlier date.⁴ Tyrrell and Purser were unable to form a clear opinion. Quite recently, however, a definite thesis and claim to finality: L. A. Constans, the scholarly editor in the Guillaume Budé series, has argued that Q. Marcius Philippus was proconsul of Asia precisely in 45-44 B.C., between the governorships of P. Servilius Isauricus and C. Trebonius.⁵ Carcopino regards the problem as solved.⁶ Likewise, K. Springer in the latest report for Bursian—"Verfasser beweist unwiderleglich dass er 45-44 Proconsul von Asien war."⁷ In the face of high authority and strong conviction it would not be dishonourable to capitulate. But this is not a prosopographic frolic, a mere matter of nailing down a solitary stray proconsul. Much more than that is at stake: there may still be time to arrest the formation of a dogma. As Münzer has lately indicated, the whole question stands in need of renewed investigation.⁸ Was Philippus proconsul of Asia or of Cilicia, and when was the whole group of letters *Ad fam.*, 13, 73-74 and 43-46 in fact written?

In the first place, wishing to have Philippus in Asia in 45-44, Constans must thence expel P. Servilius Isauricus (*cos.* 48). Not so easy. This man, appointed proconsul by Caesar in 46 to set in order a shattered province, has left abundant testimony of his manifold activities—so far, no fewer than fourteen inscriptions have come to light.⁹ Now Caesar's *Lex de provinciis* prescribed two years as the normal tenure for a governor of consular rank; ¹⁰ examples show that the rule was kept,¹¹ and it has generally been assumed

¹ M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistularum Libri Sedecim (Leipzig, Teubner, 1893), 449.

² (Leipzig, Teubner, 1925).

³ Vol. II, n. 128 = *Ad fam.*, 13, 74; n. 165 = 73.

⁴ Vol. VI, n. 918 f. = *Ad fam.*, 13, 43 f.

⁵ L. A. Constans, "Observations critiques sur quelques lettres de Cicéron," *Rev. phil.*, LVII (1931), 247 ff.

⁶ In his review of the Budé edition (Vol. I, 1934), *Journal des savants* (1936), III.

⁷ K. Springer, "Cicero, Briefe 1929-1933," *Bursian, Jahresberichte*, 260 (1938), 55.

⁸ *RE*, XVII (1936), 1054.

⁹ F. Münzer, *Römische Adelsparteien u. Adelsfamilien* (1920), 356 ff.; *RE*, IIA, 1778 ff.

¹⁰ Dio, 43, 25, 3.

¹¹ W. Sternkopf, "Die Verteilung der r. Provinzen vor dem mutinensischen Kriege," *Hermes*, XLVII (1912), 321 ff., esp. 324 ff.

that P. Servilius held his province from 46 B.C. until the summer of 44 B.C. In truth, there is no definite and dated evidence that he continued to govern Asia in 45-44 : but Constans is hardly justified in dismissing the considered opinions of Münzer as merely "une affirmation sans preuve." Persons of some consequence can easily escape historical mention, it is true—for example, there is no record at all of the consular Cn. Domitius Calvinus (*cos.* 53), an eminent Caesarian, from the Ides of March to the campaign of Philippi, and after that, nothing more for two years. P. Servilius, however, was not a general but a politician. Had he been at Rome in the spring and summer of 44, he should have been heard of. From ambition and for the consulate, Servilius had deserted kinsmen and allies, espousing Caesar's cause : Caesar's removal liberated his loyalties and his energies. Being married to a half-sister of M. Brutus, and thus becoming the brother-in-law of Cassius and of Lepidus, he stood between the parties, true to none but himself—a sinister and disquieting personage. Münzer has demonstrated beyond dispute how important a factor he was in the politics of the years 44 and 43.¹ If P. Servilius returned from Asia in the late summer of 44 B.C., his presence was soon felt. In the Senate on September 2nd he supported Cicero in an attack on the policy of the consul, M. Antonius.²

But there are other and positive reasons that preclude the governorship of Asia by Philippus, not merely in 45 B.C. but in any year. So far, in the main, the opinions of Ciceronian commentators have been mentioned or discussed. Against them stands, impressive and coherent but seldom admitted, the testimony of scholars whose principal care has been the history and administration of the eastern provinces. Bergmann a century ago, in his pioneer study, Waddington, Sir William Ramsay and others have taken it as self-evident that Philippus was a proconsul of Cilicia, assigning his governorship to a late date, towards 44 B.C.³ The issue turns upon two points, upon Derbe and upon Philomelium. The more important first.

¹ R. *Adelsparteien*, 356 ff., esp. 364.

² Cicero, *Ad fam.*, 12, 2, 1.

³ R. Bergmann, "De Asiae Romanorum provinciae praesidibus," *Philol.*, II (1847), 641 ff.; W. H. Waddington, *Fastes*, I (1872), 23; W. M. Ramsay, *Galatians* (1899), 108. Also V. Chapot, *La province romaine proconsulaire d'Asie* (1904), 80, and L. W. Hunter, *JRS*, III (1913), 89.

III. ANTIPATER OF DERBE

Tyrrell and Purser describe Antipater as an unknown Greek of Derbe; nor is Constans any more precise—"ce personnage, ainsi que ses fils, était venu de Derbe en Asie, sans doute pour y faire des affaires, et ce furent elles qui, précisément, leur donnèrent l'occasion de mécontenter le gouverneur." A persistent disinclination to discover who Antipater really was. Yet Antipater is mentioned three times by Strabo.¹ He was a local dynast in south Lycaonia, holding Derbe and Laranda, both places of some consequence. How and when he gained Laranda is not recorded: it is quite likely that he was already in possession of that stronghold when Cicero was proconsul. On September 1st, 51 B.C., Cicero set out for Iconium, making for Cybistra and the Cilician Gates.² The shortest route south-eastwards, passing through the vicinity of Barata, is deficient in water and unsuitable for an army. Cicero will have chosen instead the longer road to Cybistra: it bent southwards, by way of Lystra, Derbe and Laranda. It is the fairest of conjectures that he then met and was entertained by that Derbene towards whom he later acknowledged ties of friendship and hospitality.³ Derbe lies athwart a main road to the Cilician Gates. Likewise Laranda, with an additional strategic advantage—Laranda is the starting-point of several routes across the Taurus, the most important of which, commemorated by Barbarossa's last journey, entered Tracheia by way of Coropissus, thence running to Seleucia ad Calycadnum and the sea. Of the condition and status of Cilicia Tracheia at this time, nominally subject to Rome, nothing at all

¹ Strabo, pp. 535, 569, 679.

² For details and dates, cf. the careful study of L. W. Hunter, "Cicero's Journey to his Province of Cilicia in 51 B.C.," *JRS*, III (1913), 73 ff., esp. 87 f.

³ *Ad fam.*, 13, 73, 2: "cum Antipatro Derbete mihi non solum hospitium, verum etiam summa familiaritas intercedit." On this, see esp. L. W. Hunter, *JRS*, III (1913), 89. Hunter was dissatisfied with current opinions in this matter. He wrote: "The whole question of the dating of this group of letters deserves treatment in a separate paper as there are many misconceptions and at least one grave error in the accepted statements on the subject of Antipater and his relations with Cicero." Hunter's conjecture about the route followed by Cicero can be confirmed: Cicero himself says: "iter mihi faciendum per Lycaoniam et per Isauros et per Cappadociam arbitratus sum" (*Ad fam.*, 15, 2, 1). This points very clearly to the road through Lystra and Derbe. (Isaura Nova is perhaps, as Ramsay has argued, to be localized at Dorla, between these two towns.) According to Strabo, Derbe was situated on the flank of Isauria—*τῆς δ' Ἰσαυρικῆς ἔστιν ἐν πλευραῖς ἡ Δέρβη* (p. 569).

is recorded : between Pompeius and Antonius, a complete void. In any case, no single or central authority. Antipater, holding the vantage points of Derbe and Laranda, may well have extended his rule a long way southwards into Tracheia, encroaching at the expense of the decadent Teucrid dynasty of Olba.

Strabo calls Antipater a brigand.¹ The man of Derbe belongs to a recognisable class—resourceful individuals who seize power in troubled times, found principalities in regions difficult of access, and are tolerated of necessity by the central government or even enlisted in the service of public order. Such was Cleon from Gordiucome, the robber-chief in Mysian Olympus, who stood loyal to Rome when Q. Labienus and the Parthians swept over Asia (40 B.C.) : Cleon was recognised and rewarded by Antonius, more nobly still by Augustus, who conferred upon him the lucrative priesthood of Pontic Comana.² Cleon seems to have been an authentic brigand. Some, however, of the petty princes of Asia Minor could boast a reputable origin, going back to the old aristocracy of the land, priestly and dynastic families which had been there from the beginning. So perhaps Tarcondimotus, the son of Strato, ruler of Hieropolis-Castabala, who gave military aid to the proconsul Cicero and who later assumed the title of king, no doubt by gift of Antonius—his name is theophoric and echoes back to the days of the Hittites, recalling Tarkhundaraba, king of Arzawa.

Tarcondimotus fell in battle, fighting for Antonius in the War of Actium, and Cleon perished in his first month at Comana through impiety, or at least through a surfeit of illicit pork. Like the antecedents, the precise transgressions of Antipater are unknown. In the end, after a long career of impunity, he was attacked and killed by Amyntas, the king of Galatia, at some time later than 36 B.C., probably after the Battle of Actium.

So far the scanty literary record, the combined testimony of Cicero and of Strabo. A neglected inscription falls into line and confirms the power and influence of Antipater. A community in the border-zone of Lydia and Phrygia, probably Temenothyrae, set up a memorial of the friendly services rendered by Antipater of Derbe, the son of Perilaus, in a matter between them and the

¹ Strabo, p. 535 (ἀγοστής). Derbe was his *τυραννείον* (p. 569).

² Strabo, p. 574 f., gives a circumstantial account of his career and fate.

Roman government.¹ There is no clear indication of date ; and the wording of the inscription does not prove that Antipater himself either visited Rome, or even attended in person at the transaction, in the presence of the Roman consuls, to which the fragmentary inscription refers just before its mention of the good deeds of Antipater. It is clear, however, that an embassy had been sent from Temenothyrae to Rome—or perhaps to the “legitimate” Pompeian government at Thessalonica in 49 B.C., when, under the menace of requisitions in the Civil War, the communities of Asia would stand in need of powerful defenders.²

Over all the East, kings and tetrarchs, dynasts and cities were in the *clientela* of Pompeius Magnus ; they conducted or despatched contingents to help him in the war. Loyalty to Pompeius could cover or justify private aggrandisement. Deiotarus the Galatian was the greatest of the vassal-kings. The confusion after Pharsalus and Caesar’s long delay in Egypt gave him freedom to encroach upon his neighbours, whether or no his suppression of Castor Tarcondarius belongs to this date.³ Antipater, it may be conjectured,

¹ IGR, III, 1694, reproduced integrally from the text of J. Keil and A. v. Premenstein, *Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien* (*Denkschr. der k. Ak. in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse* LIV, 1911), 135, n. 248 :

[.] ονει[. .]
 [. . .]ων καὶ ἔστησεν παρόντων καὶ τῶν ὑπᾶτων. ἐ[πεὶ]
 Ἀντ[ίπατρος] Περίλαου Δερβήτης πολλὰς ἀποδείξ[εις]
 παρέ[σχηται] τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας ἐν παντ[ὶ] καί-
 ρῳ[ι] τοῖς [.] τ[ῆς] πισ[τῆς]
 πρ[οθυμίας]] πολε[. . .]
 [. .] νομο[.] καὶ ἱερε[. . .]

The inscription was found at Uşak (“bei der Moschee Buldaily-Djamissi im Hofe der Medresse”) but, like others from this site, may have been brought from elsewhere. Whether Uşak is or is not the ancient Temenothyrae is here irrelevant : for a discussion, *ibid.*, 133 f., Keil and Premenstein assume that Antipater had visited Rome and entered into relations with influential persons before the time of Cicero’s proconsulate of Cilicia : but that is only an inference from the words, “non solum hospitium, verum etiam summa familiaritas,” of the letter *Ad fam.*, 13, 73, 2, which they date to c. 54 B.C. But that date cannot stand. They are right, however, in pointing out that the subject of the verb ἔστησεν in l. 2 can hardly be Antipater, for he is mentioned, with his full name, at the very beginning of the following sentence. They suppose that the community which recorded its gratitude to Antipater was either Temenothyrae or Acmonia.

² Compare the exemption from military service accorded to the Jews by the consul Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Crus, then in Asia (Josephus, *AJ*, 14, 228, etc.). Both consuls, however, were later at Thessalonica together (Dio, 41, 43, 2).

³ Strabo, p. 568.

owed the title, if not the original possession, of his principality to Pompeius. He was up to no good in the years 49-47; and Caesar will have been "very angry" with Antipater, just as he was with Deiotarus.¹ Hence the taking of hostages by the proconsul of Cilicia. Philippus might have been proconsul of Cilicia in 44 B.C.: he was probably the first proconsul of that province to be appointed by Caesar, in 47, soon after the termination of the Alexandrian War (see further below, p. 318).

The lord of Derbe and Laranda was a formidable factor, given the strategic importance of his principality in relation to the high-road from Asia to Syria; the extent and nature of his influence with the Roman government (i.e. with Pompeius?) is shown by the gratitude of a distant community like Temenothyrae. Antipater was perhaps a more reputable character than Cleon the brigand—his father Perilaus bore a fine Macedonian name and showed historical sense in choosing an appellation for his heir (centuries earlier, Antipater the Macedonian had a son called Perilaus).² By kinder fate or by a nicer calculation in crime and treachery, Antipater might have survived to win a regal title and earn the gratitude of Rome's rulers as an agent of the imperial peace, to pass into history as the peer and equal of Herod and of Amyntas. No doubt but that he was endowed with some at least of the requisite qualities—"dignus ille quidem omni regno," as Cicero said, extolling another friend of Cilician days, the crafty and murderous Deiotarus.³

IV. PHILOMELIUM: ASIA OR CILICIA?

L. Oppius was resident at Philomelium.⁴ He there had charge of the interests of L. Egnatius Rufus, a Roman knight who did business in Asia and in Bithynia as well. Cicero professes himself to be under the deepest obligation to Egnatius. The nature of the

¹ Caesar's firm language on their first confrontation is vividly recorded in *Bell. Al.*, 68. Caesar then restored his royal title. But that was not the end of the trouble. Brutus championed the cause of Deiotaurus at Nicaea and so did Cicero later in Rome. Cicero then, addressing Caesar, says, "non enim iam metuo ne illi tu suscenseas" (*Pro rege Deiotaro*, 35). The same verb describes Philippus' feelings about Antipater of Derbe—"ei te vementer suscensuisse audiui et moleste tuli" (*Ad fam.*, 13, 73, 2).

² Plutarch, *De frat. amore*, 15, p. 486 A. (*RE* on "Perilaus" ignores the parent of Antipater of Derbe.)

³ *Ad Att.*, 14, 1, 21.

⁴ As stated in *Ad fam.*, 13, 43, 1 (and only there).

services rendered by the financier might be conjectured : it happens to be recorded. During the Civil War both Cicero and his brother, in need of ready cash, expected to get a loan from Egnatius.¹ It will be presumed that they were not disappointed. The letters to the proconsul Philippus (and certain others as well) therefore convey the express testimony of Cicero's gratitude—and, more important for the question under debate, an indication of the date at which they were composed.

The town of Philomelium (Akşehir) was a foundation of the Seleucid period.² It lay on the northern flank of the Sultan Dağ, beside the Lake of the Forty Martyrs, in the middle of Phrygia Paroreios. The extension of that region from west to east along the main road is given by Strabo, namely from Holmi (near Ipsus) to Tyriacum.³ Paroreios was bounded on the west and north by the Synnadic diocese, on the south-west by Phrygia-towards-Pisidia, on the east by Galatia and by Lycaonia. As indicated above, a number of routes converge at the western end of Paroreios and unite to form the central link of the road from Asia to Syria. For administrative purposes, the region could have been joined either with Asia or with Cilicia. Under the Empire, it belonged to the province of Asia : ⁴ not necessarily so under the Republic.⁵

The earliest history of Paroreios in the Roman period, as of other inland regions, is naturally obscure. Philomelium itself first turns up in the year 70 B.C. Cicero is arguing about the requisitioning of corn by provincial governors : as a hypothetical example, he imagines people from Philomelium being commanded to bring corn to Ephesus.⁶ This would imply that Philomelium was in the province of Asia ; and it has sometimes been taken as

¹ *Ad Att.*, 7, 18, 4 ; 10, 15, 4 ; 11, 3, 3 ; 12, 18, 3 ; 30, 1 f. ; 31, 2.

² The name recalls the Seleucid general, Philomelus ; and a certain Lysias, son of Philomelus, was a local dynast in Phrygia (for the evidence, Stähelin, *RE*, XIII, 2531 f. ; Ruge, *ib.*, XIX, 2520 ff.). Hence another city, called Lysias : on the site, J. G. C. Anderson, *JHS*, XVIII (1898), 107 ; W. M. Ramsay, *CB*, I, 754.

³ Strabo, p. 663. On the region cf. W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, 139 f. ; J. G. C. Anderson, *JHS*, XVIII (1898), 109 ff. ; W. M. Calder, *JRS*, II (1912), 237 ff.

⁴ Pliny, *NH*, 5, 95 : "hos includit Lycaonia in Asiaticam iurisdictionem versa, cum qua conveniunt Philomelienses, Tymbriani, Leucolithi, Pelteni, Tyrienses."

⁵ As stated by A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities*, 64 ; 391. Cf., however, Ramsay, *CB*, I, 341 ; 428, and *Galatians*, 108 ; V. Chapot, *o.c.*, 80.

⁶ *In Verrem*, II, 3, 191.

proof. Yet if, as is highly probable at this time, two of the three dioceses of Phrygia belonged to the province of Cilicia,¹ it is evident that Philomelium, which lies further east along the main road, must also have been in Cilicia. Again, in 62-56, when all three dioceses were attached to Asia, it is by no means certain that Philomelium went with them. Philomelium was old Phrygian land—but so, for that matter, was Pisidic Phrygia and Lycaonia as far to the south-east as the ancient city of Iconium. Neither of these regions was ever joined with Asia, so far as is known.²

In the years 56-50 Philomelium was inevitably a part of Cilicia, for the three Phrygian dioceses were then in Cilicia. Further, Cicero held assizes there, as is clearly stated—and, what is more remarkable, the assizes for Lycaonia.³ This fact has not always been noticed: it is perhaps an indication of the standing connexions of Philomelium and of Phrygia Paroreios with the territory to the south-east. In the year after Cicero's departure, the three dioceses reverted to Asia. But not the region of Phrygia Paroreios. Just as previously, before 56 B.C., it need not have shared in the vicissitudes of Phrygia, so now Paroreios along with Philomelium, the capital of the Lycaonian *conventus*, presumably remained in Cilicia. Hence a man resident at Philomelium is recommended to the good offices of Q. Philippus. The theory that Philippus was proconsul, not of Cilicia but of Asia, is seen to have rested upon a pair of treacherous supports—an incautious assumption touching Philomelium and pure ignorance about Antipater of Derbe. In any case, Philippus must be a proconsul of Cilicia between 47 and 44 B.C. It will now be possible to assign a date to the kindred group of letters of recommendation.

¹ Ramsay, *CB*, I, 341; V. Chapot, *o.c.*, 78 f. See also above, p. 300, n. 2.

² Antioch might, it is true, have belonged to the province of Asia for a brief period, from 49 or 47 to 39 B.C.: there is no evidence.

³ *Ad fam.*, 3, 8, 6: "quod isdem diebus meus conventus erat Apameae, Synnade, Philomeli, tuus Tarsi." Cf. *ibid.*, 15, 4, 2; *Ad Att.*, 5, 20, 1. In the spring of the next year he held the assizes for the whole of his province (excepting Cilicia Pedias and Cyprus) at the one place, Laodicea—"Idibus Februariis, quo die has litteras dedi, forum institueram agere Laodiceae Cibyraticum et Apamense, ex Idibus Martiis ibidem Synnadense, Pamphylium (tum Phemio dispiciam *κέρας*), Lycaonium, Isauricum (*Ad Att.*, 5, 21, 9). Cf. W. M. Ramsay, *JRS*, XII (1922), 151: "In Cicero's time and use the Isaurican conventus had Iconium as its centre, while the Lycaonian conventus looked to Philomelion as its meeting-place. The editors of Cicero's letters mis-state the facts and misrepresent history in respect of those two conventus." They are not the only culprits.

V. THE LETTERS *Ad fam.*, 13, 43-46

The first pair of these epistles (43-44) commend L. Oppius in person and the interests of the absent L. Egnatius Rufus to a Roman official. About the date, no reasonable doubt: the greater part of the second (44) is identical, not merely in substance but in words, with the first letter to Philippus (74). About the recipient, a difficulty. All the manuscripts of the first letter bear the address "Quinto Gallo": for the second, some have "Gallo," others "Gallio."¹ Rather than assume an otherwise unknown Quintus, or rather Quinctius, many scholars prefer to follow the opinion of Manutius and choose Quintus Gallius.² If so, which Q. Gallius? Not, as some suppose, the aedile of 67 B.C.³ Given the approximate date as fixed by the synchronism with Philippus, it would have to be Q. Gallius, praetor in 43 B.C. This man was accused of conspiring against the life of Octavianus in August or September of that year; he disappeared, under dark rumours incriminating the young consul.⁴ His standing would make it a reasonable conjecture that he had served under Philippus in Cilicia, either as quaestor or as legate.

The next two letters (45-46) are addressed to a certain Appuleius, given in the first of them the title of "proquaestor."⁵ The first of them concerns, as usual, the operations of Egnatius Rufus. But not this time through his agent at Philomelium: it is his slave Anchialus and his interests in the province of Asia—"Anchialum servum negotiaque quae habet in Asia."⁶ The subject of the second letter is a freedman, L. Nostius Zoilus, beneficiary along with Cicero in a will.

¹ For the *apparatus*, cf. the editions of Mendelssohn and Sjögren.

² E.g., Von der Mühll, *RE*, VII, 671. A Quinctius Gallus is, however, not impossible, cf. Münzer, *RE*, XVIII, 738, pointing to the inscr. *CIL*, I², 1820, which mentions a Q. Quinctius Q. f. Gallus.

³ Asconius, 78 f. (p. 88, Clark).

⁴ Appian, *BC*, 3, 95, 394; Suetonius, *Divus Aug.*, 27, 4.

⁵ That is to say, either a quaestor with his term prorogued or a legate acting as quaestor.

⁶ The word "Asia" can, of course, be applied to the three Phrygian dioceses—"iter igitur ita per Asiam feci ut etiam fames qua nihil miserius est, quae tum erat in hac mea Asia (messis enim nulla fuerat), mihi optanda fuerit" (*Ad Att.*, 5, 21, 8): but that is irrelevant here, for precisely in the years in which this letter must fall (49-44 B.C.), Cicero's Asia no longer belonged to the province of Cilicia. Therefore, on any count, Appuleius must be the quaestor of Asia.

In the first place, the province of which Appuleius was quaestor. Not necessarily the same as that of Philippus and of Q. Gallius, for L. Oppius, resident at Philomelium, does not occur here. Not Cilicia, therefore, as some have supposed,¹ but Asia. For the date, at first sight a wide margin seems possible, between 51 and 44. The activities of the financier L. Egnatius Rufus were not confined to the provinces of Cilicia and Asia, but extended to Bithynia. We find him recommended to the good offices of Silius, governor of Bithynia-Pontus in 51-50 B.C.²

If the identity of Appuleius were fixed, that might help. Now in the winter of 44-43 B.C. the retiring quaestors of Syria and of Asia, C. Antistius Vetus and M. Appuleius handed over the funds at their disposal to M. Brutus.³ Appuleius had presumably served as quaestor under P. Servilius (Trebonius' quaestor is known—he was the young P. Lentulus Spinther).⁴ Further, this M. Appuleius might be, as Groag has conjectured, no other than M. Appuleius, *cos.* 20 B.C., the son of that obscure Sex. Appuleius who married the elder Octavia, step-daughter of L. Marcius Philippus and half-sister of Octavianus.⁵ If M. Appuleius, attested as the retiring quaestor of Asia in 44 B.C., were the same person as Appuleius the proquaestor in Cicero's letter of recommendation, there would follow an interesting conclusion. The pair of letters, *Ad fam.*, 13, 45-46, would clearly be the latest in date of the whole book.⁶ But that is too much to hope for. It may be tempting, but it is not necessary to identify Appuleius the proquaestor with the better-known M. Appuleius. There are too many Appuleii in this period. The proquaestor Appuleius might be the elder of the two brothers, namely

¹ M. Büzl, *De prov. Rom. quaestoribus*, Diss. Leipzig (1893), 62 f.; F. Sobeck, *Die Quaestoren der r. Republik*, Diss. Breslau (1909), 69.

² *Ad fam.*, 13, 47.

³ Cicero, *Phil.*, 10, 24; 13, 32; Appian, *BC*, 3, 63, 259; 4, 75, 316; *Epp. ad M. Brutum*, 1, 7, 2.

⁴ *Ad fam.*, 12, 14 f. (May 29th, 43 B.C.). He regarded himself as governor of Asia after Trebonius' death, adopting the title "proquaestor pro praetore."

⁵ *PIR*², A 959. Fonteius and Fonteia, father-in-law and wife respectively of the quaestor M. Appuleius, are honoured on inscriptions of Ephesus (*GIBM*, 3, 547, 2-3). Groag identifies as one person (1) the quaestor of 44 B.C., (2) the quaestor of the *inscr.*, (3) the consul of 20 B.C.

⁶ That is, unless the letter to C. Sextilius Rufus, quaestor in charge of Cyprus (*Ad fam.*, 13, 48), were to be dated as late as the beginning of 43 B.C., which would be highly questionable (see below, p. 324, n. 6).

Sex. Appuleius (*cos.* 29 B.C.)—or even their father. Yet again, there was a P. Appuleius, tribune in 43 B.C., an old associate of Cicero —“*meorum omnium consiliorum periculorumque iam inde a consulatu meo testis, conscius, adiutor*” (whatever that may be worth).¹ This man could easily have been quaestor of Asia in 47 or 46. For dating, the years 51-44 are theoretically available. Yet, on a strict but reasonable interpretation, given the very close resemblance in phraseology between the first letter to Appuleius and the first to Q. Gallius, these letters should belong to the time and period when Q. Philippus was proconsul of Cilicia. Appuleius will have been quaestor of Asia under Cn. Domitius Calvinus (48-47)—and proquaestor after his departure in the winter of 47-46, before the arrival of the proconsul P. Servilius.²

As this section has already wandered far into the intricacies of prosopography, it will not be an alarming divagation now to speculate also about Philippus the proconsul of Cilicia.

VI. THE IDENTITY OF Q. PHILIPPUS

Given the *cognomen*, he was pretty clearly a Marcius. Now in this generation a multiplicity of Marcii are discovered in official positions in the eastern provinces, namely men with the *cognomina* Rex, Philippus, Figulus, Crispus and Censorinus. Q. Philippus is evidently a near relative of that L. Marcius Philippus (the son of the famous censor) who governed Syria for two years (62-60 B.C.) in the interests of Pompeius, after Scaurus, the stepson of Pompeius, and before Marcellinus, with whom he held the consulate in 56 B.C.³ Like his father before him, L. Philippus was a crafty person, solicitous for personal survival in times of civil strife. He was in relations with Pompeius, with Cato—and with Caesar, whose niece Atia he married in 58 B.C., on the death of her husband C. Octavius, thereby acquiring three step-children. The matrimonial tie furnished a respectable pretext for neutrality in the Civil War: his son, tribune in 49 B.C., was active in Caesar's interests,⁴ and became praetor in 44.

Q. Philippus is either the brother or the nephew of the consul

¹ Cicero, *Phil.*, 14, 16. Further, the proscribed Apuleius (Appian, *BC.*, 4, 46, 195) may be different from any of the Appulei here mentioned.

² For the date, see below, p. 319.

³ Appian, *Syr.*, 51. Appian gives no *praenomen*.

⁴ Caesar, *BC.*, 1, 6, 4.

of 56 B.C. Cichorius observed that Q. Marcius Q. f. Pap. was present in the *consilium* of Cn. Pompeius Strabo at Asculum in 89 B.C., a young man, to judge by his position on the list.¹ Cicero also served at Asculum. Now Cicero, interceding for the captive sons of Antipater, appealed to an old friendship with Q. Philippus—"pro vetere nostra necessitudine."²

For this reason, Cichorius identified the two men. He suggested that Q. Marcius L. f. Philippus was praetor in 56, proconsul of Asia in 55-54.³ But Cilicia, it has been shown, was the province of Philippus. There is a way out—the appeal to personal friendship might apply no less to the son of a man who had been with Cicero at Asculum. Caesar sometimes employed fairly elderly men to govern provinces and command armies, it is true. More conspicuous the very young in high favour and high office. Caesar frequently placed quite important provincial commands in the charge of quaestors or ex-quaestors (compare, in the following section, Sex. Julius Caesar, Q. Cornificius and C. Antistius Vetus). Therefore, Q. Philippus may well be the son of Cicero's "Kriegskamerad"; hence, a young man about the same age as his cousin (*tr. pl.* 49), and governor of Cilicia with the rank and title of *quaestor pro praetore* or *quaestor pro consule*.

Some scholars, accepting Cilicia, have put Philippus in 45 or 44 B.C.⁴ Whichever be the year, a conflict will then arise with the existing evidence. Neither year is completely ruled out—we know so little, and strict proof is precluded. But 47-46 is available and accords with the evidence. In justification, it will be necessary to dissect and review a tangled chapter of provincial history under the dictatorship of Caesar.

VII. CILICIA AND SYRIA, 48-44 B.C.

After the Battle of Pharsalus, Caesar, hastening to Egypt in pursuit of Pompeius, left the three provinces of Asia, Bithynia-Pontus

¹ *ILS*, 8888, cf. C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien* (1922), 168 f.

² *Ad fam.*, 13, 73, 2.

³ *Römische Studien*, 168 f. C. Claudius Pulcher, however, praetor in 56 B.C., was proconsul of Asia precisely in 55 B.C. (Waddington, *Fastes*, 31 f.; Münzer, *RE*, III, 2856).

⁴ Bergmann, Waddington and Ramsay, above, p. 308, n. 3. Also Hölzl, *Fasti praetorii* (1876), 94 f., who, adopting 45, has perpetuated the conjecture that Philippus was praetor in 46.

and Cilicia under the charge of the consular Cn. Domitius Calvinus.¹ For how long? it is not quite clear. Calvinus was with Caesar in the *Bellum Africum*.² Hence his tenure of all three provinces has sometimes been made to run from the autumn of 48 B.C. to the spring of 46.³ Now according to Cassius Dio, Caesar, after his victory over Pharnaces at Zela, himself before departing to Italy made certain arrangements in Pontus and left the rest to Calvinus.⁴ The author of the *Bellum Alexandrinum*, however, does not mention Calvinus in this context, but states that Caesar left two legions in Pontus under Coelius Vinicianus.⁵ That man might therefore have been chosen as an independent governor. Possibly Caesar divided Bithynia and Pontus: however it be, C. Vibius Pansa apparently governed Bithynia in 46 B.C.;⁶ and P. Servilius was the successor of Calvinus in Asia in that year, presumably from spring or early summer.

Even if Calvinus held both Bithynia-Pontus and Asia until the beginning of 46, the same would not follow for Cilicia. Cilicia at this time was not contiguous with Bithynia-Pontus—and it had problems of its own. After the Alexandrian war, Caesar came to Syria and to Cilicia in the summer of 47 B.C. on his way to Pontus and made certain dispositions affecting those provinces.⁷ In Syria Caesar appointed as governor a young kinsman, the quaestor Sex. Julius Caesar.⁸ It may be presumed that he did not neglect Cilicia either, but likewise gave it a governor of its own at last, namely Q. Marcius Philippus (also a relative, being the brother or nephew

¹ *Bell. Al.*, 34, 1: "Asiam finitimasque provincias." Cilicia is not definitely mentioned, but Calvinus sent an officer there to get troops (*ib.*, 34, 5). Syria might also have been under his charge: there is no record about it.

² *Bell. Afr.*, 86, 3; 93, 1.

³ E. Letz, *Die Provinzialverwaltung Caesars*, Diss. Strassburg (1912), 76 ff.

⁴ Dio, 42, 49, 1.

⁵ *Bell. Al.*, 77, 2. As Dessau observes, the inscription of M. Coelius Vinicianus (*ILS*, 883) omits this command: but may it not be the post of *pr. pro cos.* there given?

⁶ Cistophori of Apamea and of Nicomedia bearing his name, *BM Cat. Pontus, etc.*, 109; 152, there wrongly dated to 48/7 instead of to 47/6; cf. Th. Reinach, *Rev. num.*, 1891, 374, n. 1. Pansa cannot have remained long in Bithynia, for he was back in Rome by the early autumn of 46 B.C. (Cicero, *Ad fam.*, 6, 12, 2; *Pro Ligario*, 1; 7).

⁷ *Bell. Al.*, 66, 1 ff.: "ipse eadem classe qua venerat proficiscitur in Ciliciam. cuius provinciae civitates omnes evocat Tarsum, quod oppidum fere totius Ciliciae nobilissimum fortissimumque est. ibi rebus omnibus provinciae et finitimarum civitatum constitutis," etc.

⁸ *Bell. Al.*, 66, 1; Dio, 47, 26, 3.

of the husband of his own niece). On his journey northwards, Caesar encountered Deiotarus and rebuked him for unsatisfactory behaviour during the Civil War.¹ Another vassal of Rome, Antipater the son of Perilaus, was taken to task by the proconsul of Cilicia—for Caesar did not go anywhere near Laranda and Derbe.

The successor of Philippus in the spring or early summer of the next year is known, thanks to the acute investigations of Ganter.² It was a correspondent of Cicero, the poetical and accomplished Q. Cornificius, quaestor in 48, praetor probably in 45.³ When Cornificius set out from Rome, the African campaign was imminent; Cornificius, however, was going to a peaceful command.⁴ Before long, he had a war upon his hands. The Pompeian Q. Caecilius Bassus, encouraged by reports of Caesar's ill-success in Africa, raised an army, joined battle with the governor of Syria, won over his legion and had him assassinated.⁵ The death of Sex. Caesar belongs to midsummer, probably July, of the year 46 B.C.⁶ After this, Bassus seized the strong place of Apamea and made it his base. Caesar did not at once send out a special general to deal with Bassus, but entrusted Syria and the conduct of the war to Cornificius, who had already arrived in Cilicia.⁷ Thus Syria and Cilicia were united under one command. But not for long. No military operations of Cornificius are recorded: in the next year it is C. Antistius Vetus who fights against Bassus and his Parthian allies.⁸ Cornificius will then have left his province at the end of the year 46—perhaps to assume the praetorship at Rome.

It is not at once apparent who were the officials in charge of Cilicia and of Syria in the year 45. Fortunately, there is one valuable piece of evidence—a despatch written by C. Antistius Vetus on

¹ *Bell. Al.*, 68.

² F. L. Ganter, "Q. Cornificius," *Philol.*, LIII (1894), 132 f.; the letters here relevant are *Ad fam.*, 12, 17-19.

³ The date of the praetorship is not established. There are difficulties about 47, which Hölzl (*Fasti praetorii*, 86) adopts. Münzer, *RE*, IV, 1625, inclines to 45.

⁴ *Ad fam.*, 12, 18, 1: "in summum otium te ire arbitrabar et ab impendentibus magnis negotiis discedere." Cf. *ib.*, 12, 17, 1.

⁵ Dio, 47, 26, 3 ff.; Josephus, *AJ*, 14, 268; Appian, *BC*, 3, 77, 312 ff. = 4, 58, 250 ff.; Livy, *Per.*, 114.

⁶ Ganter, *Philol.*, LIII, 137.

⁷ *Ad fam.*, 12, 19, 1: "bellum, quod est in Syria, Syriamque provinciam tibi tributam esse a Caesare ex tuis litteris cognovi."

⁸ Dio, 47, 27, 2 ff.; cf. Cicero, *Ad Att.*, 14, 9, 3.

the last day of December, 45 B.C., addressed, it may be presumed, to Caesar, and in the possession of Balbus who showed it to Cicero. Vetus had succeeded in investing Bassus at Apamea when the Parthians turned up and raised the siege: for this he blamed Volcatius.¹

Three alternatives present themselves. Volcatius was proconsul of Syria, or (like Cornificius for a few months towards the end of 46) proconsul of Syria and Cilicia combined together, with Antistius serving under him as quaestor; or else, Volcatius was proconsul of Cilicia, Antistius an independent governor, holding Syria. The third is to be preferred—Antistius, and he alone is mentioned by Dio in his full account of the operations of the year 45 B.C. in Syria against Bassus;² and it is Antistius who composes the despatch to the central government. Hence we have C. Antistius Vetus, quaestor and governor of Syria. Volcatius, about whom he complains, was in charge of a neighbouring army and province, that is, Cilicia.³ A man called Volcatius was praetor in 46,⁴ presumably to be identified with L. Volcatius Tullus, *cos.* 33 (the son of the consul of 66). If this account is accepted, there is no room for Q. Philippus in Cilicia in 45 B.C., nor is 44 free from difficulties. Indeed, there may have been no separate province of Cilicia in 44 (below, p. 323).

After Antistius, the next governor of Syria was L. Staius Murcus in 44 B.C. The date of his arrival is uncertain—perhaps quite early in the year.⁵ According to Appian, he summoned to his aid Marcius Crispus, the governor of Bithynia, who came to Syria with

¹ Cicero, *Ad Att.*, 14, 9, 3 (April 18th, 44 B.C.): "et Balbus hic est multumque mecum, ad quem a Vetere litterae datae pridie Kal. Ianuar., cum a se Caecilius circumsederetur et iam teneretur, venisse cum maximis copiis Pacorum Parthum; ita sibi esse eum ereptum, multis suis amissis, in qua re accusat Volcatium."

² Dio, 47, 27, 2 ff.

³ So W. Sternkopf, "Die Verteilung der r. Provinzen vor dem mutinensischen Kriege," *Hermes*, XLVII (1912), 330 f. Volcatius is omitted from D. Vaglieri's list of governors of Cilicia in *Diz. ep.* Neither of these writers mentions Q. Marcius Philippus at all.

⁴ *Ad fam.*, 13, 14, 1.

⁵ According to Appian (*BC*, 3, 77, 316 = 4, 58, 253) he was sent against Bassus by Caesar. In another place, a certain Murcus is mentioned among the people who tried to claim credit for being in the plot to murder Caesar (*BC*, 2, 119, 500). The identification with L. Staius Murcus is accepted by Sternkopf, *Hermes*, XLVII (1912), 336 f., and by Münzer, *RE*, III A, 2137. There are difficulties in the whole story. However that may be, Sternkopf and Münzer both assume that Murcus was governor of Syria in 44 B.C., as successor to C. Antistius Vetus. Josephus (*AJ*, 14, 270; 279) states quite definitely that Murcus was governor of Syria.

an army of three legions.¹ Some, distrusting Appian, would infer a mistake and suppose Crispus really to have been governor of Cilicia.² That is possible: but the hypothesis that there was a northern army-command at this time in Bithynia-Pontus would fit in very well with what can be surmised about the distribution of the armies and about Caesar's frontier and foreign policy in the East—and it is accepted by Mommsen.³ Caesar had left two legions in Pontus after the Battle of Zela; and he proposed, we are told, to invade the Parthian dominions by marching through Armenia Minor.⁴ Hence the need for an army and a base in the north. Sixteen legions is given as the total of the army which Caesar was to lead against the Parthians.⁵ This is not a special striking force, a field army, but simply the total of the legions in Macedonia and in the eastern provinces in 44 B.C.⁶

Q. Marcius Crispus was an experienced military man.⁷ He was proconsul of Bithynia-Pontus in 45 B.C., the successor of Pansa and the predecessor of Tillius Cimber: in the spring of 44 he marched with his army to Syria—no doubt a cause of vexation to the Liberators when they found that Cimber, like Trebonius, was to succeed to an unarmed province. There were no legions in either Bithynia or Asia when those proconsuls arrived.

Murcus and Crispus with six legions conducted operations against Bassus in 44 B.C. and soon shut him up in Apamea. The quaestor C. Antistius Vetus stayed there until late in the year: on his way back to Rome he handed over his monies to M. Brutus. In 45 B.C. Marcius Crispus had certainly been governor of Bithynia: in 44 he *may* have held the title of proconsul of Cilicia.⁸ Again, either Philippus or some unknown person could have been proconsul, without an army. Yet it is possible that Cilicia and Syria

¹ Appian, *BC*, 3, 77, 316: ἐπεκαλεῖτο Μάρκιον Κρίσπον ἡγούμενον Βιθυνίας, καὶ ἀφίκετο αὐτῷ βοηθῶν ὁ Κρίσπος τέλεσεν ἄλλοις τρισὶν; cf. 4, 58, 253. Sternkopf, *Hermes*, XLVII (1912), 330 f., accepts this. So too Münzer, *RE*, III A, 2137; XIV, 1555 f.

² E. Schwartz, "Die Vertheilung der r. Provinzen nach Caesars Tod," *Hermes*, XXXIII, (1898), 186, followed by E. Letz, *Die Provinzialverwaltung Caesars*, Diss. Strassburg (1912), 84.

³ *Ges. Schriften*, IV, 162 f.

⁴ Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 44.

⁵ Appian, *BC*, 2, 110, 460.

⁶ Namely, six in Macedonia, three in Egypt, the Syrian legion formerly under Sex. Julius Caesar and the two three-legion armies commanded by Murcus and Crispus in 44 B.C.

⁷ Cicero, *In Pisonem*, 54.

⁸ Sternkopf, *Hermes*, XLVII (1912), 332, barely admits this possibility.

were united under Staius Murcus—who will have commanded that army which in the previous year Volcatius had failed to bring to the help of Vetus. Compare the position of Cornificius in 46 B.C.

In any case, the junction of the two provinces was probably contemplated for the next year. Late in March or early in April 44 B.C., the consul Dolabella was allotted Syria as his province: his colleague Antonius received Macedonia. At the beginning of June, however, Antonius, while retaining at his disposal the six Macedonian legions (or rather four or five of them) took in exchange both Gallic provinces, the Cisalpina and Comata. Further, the tenure of the consular province was prolonged to five years.¹ Dolabella fell short of Antonius in resource, in prestige and in power. He could not expect so formidable a province. But even so, Syria alone might appear an inadequate portion. In 47 B.C. Caesar had left there only one legion as garrison. Moreover, the Parthian danger threatened both provinces and made a single command desirable. It may therefore be conjectured that Syria, the consular province of Dolabella, was to include Cilicia: Cilicia, indeed, had now been much reduced in area, namely to Pedias and Lycaonia (see below).

A hazardous guess, perhaps, but confirmed by attested official terminology in the next year. Cassius, reaching Syria earlier than Dolabella in the winter of 44-43, induced the armies at Apamea, besiegers and besieged, to join him. In the record of the seizure of the provinces of the East by Cassius, there is no mention of Cilicia as a separate entity or of any proconsul. In the *Eleventh Philippic* (c. March 6th) Cicero proposed that Cassius should be recognised as legitimate proconsul of Syria in the place of Dolabella; further, he was to exercise *imperium maius* over the provinces of the East—"ut imperandi in Syria, Asia, Bithynia, Ponto ius potestatemque habeat."²

The province of Cilicia has come to an end. Before tracing the stages of its decline and extinction and the transference of its peculiar functions to other administrative units, it will be well

¹ On the complicated problems of this legislation see the convincing arguments of Sternkopf, *Hermes*, XLVII (1912), 357 ff.

² Cicero, *Phil.*, II, 30. The proconsuls Q. Marcius Crispus and L. Staius Murcus and the legate A. Allienus are mentioned by name.

to set out in the form of a table the list of governors of Cilicia and of Syria in this dark and troubled period :—

<i>Cilicia.</i>		<i>Syria.</i>
47/6?	Q. Marcius Philippus.	Sex. Julius Caesar.
46	Q. Cornificius.	
45.	L. Volcatius Tullus.	C. Antistius Vetus.
44.	?	L. Staius Murcus.
43.	P. Cornelius Dolabella.	
	C. Cassius.	

VIII. THE ABOLITION OF CILICIA

In 49 B.C., under the Pompeian government of the East, the three dioceses of Phrygia were transferred to Asia. C. Fannius was governor of Asia : his *cistophori* were minted at Laodicea and Apamea as well as at Ephesus.¹ That would prove only two of the three dioceses, it is true. But Cicero, writing in 46 to the proconsul P. Servilius, confirms the transference of all three.² The territorial diminution of Cilicia proceeded apace. According to Cassius Dio, Caesar at Alexandria offered Cyprus to Arsinoë.³ This account has been doubted.⁴ It is in no way incredible ; and it is likely enough, on any theory, that after the termination of the Alexandrian War, Caesar granted this old Ptolemaic possession to Cleopatra. An Egyptian general, Sarapion, is attested in possession of the island in 43 B.C.⁵ There is no indication of Roman administration at all in the intervening period, unless the mysterious quaestor C. Sextilius Rufus be dated to 47 B.C.⁶ If so, it may have been his

¹ *BM Cat. Phrygia*, xxxiii (Apamea) ; lxxiv f. (Laodicea) ; *Ionia* (Ephesus), 68.

² *Ad fam.*, 13, 67, 1 ; "ex provincia mea Ciliciensi, cui scis *τρεῖς διοικήσεις* Asiaticas adtributas fuisse."

³ Dio, 42, 35, 5.

⁴ A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides*, II (1904), 193 : on p. 213, n. 4, however, he states that Caesar gave to Cleopatra the possession and revenue of Cyprus.

⁵ Appian, *BC*, 4, 61, 262 ; cf. 5, 9, 35. Hence it is not necessary to put off her occupation of Cyprus until a grant made by Antonius much later (Dio, 49, 32, 5 ; 41, 2).

⁶ Cicero, commending to C. Sextilius Rufus all the people of Cyprus and especially the Paphians, refers to ordinances made by P. Lentulus and by himself and describes Sextilius' position thus—"cum primus in eam insulam quaestor veneris" (*Ad fam.*, 13, 48). It has been supposed that he was quaestor of Cilicia early in 46 (before the arrival of the governor of the province Q. Cornificius) by Ganter, *Philol.*, LIII (1894), 55, and by Sternkopf, *Hermes*, XLVII (1912), 331. The language of Cicero, however, suggests that he was an independent governor of Cyprus. When ? Possibly in 49 B.C. under the Pompeian government of the

function to regulate the affairs of the island before it was handed back to royal authority.

At Tarsus, in the summer of 47, Caesar made various arrangements about Cilicia.¹ Now in 43 B.C., P. Spinther, Trebonius' quaestor and acting-governor of Asia after the death of Trebonius, expressly states that Side in Pamphylia is a part of his province.² When had it been severed from Cilicia? Perhaps in 49 B.C., when the three dioceses went, perhaps by Caesar in 47. How much of the hinterland from Pamphylia northwards was also attached to Asia, for convenience and to provide through-communications, has not been recorded.

As has been indicated above, Cilicia was united with the province of Syria in 44 B.C., perhaps under L. Staius Murcus, or, at latest, under his successor, P. Dolabella. The last clearly attested separate governor of Cilicia was L. Volcatius Tullus in 45. Antonius, it is true, might have revived a separate province of Cilicia (i.e. Pedias and Lycaonia) after Philippi. If so, it has left no trace of its existence; and no proconsul of Cilicia is mentioned at the time of the Parthian invasion in 40 B.C. The union of Syria and Cilicia in one province is not expressly recorded by any of the ancient authorities until the governorship of C. Sosius in 38-36 B.C.:³ it might, however, be postulated for his predecessors under Antonius' government of the East, the "Celtiberian" and the "muleteer," namely L. Decidius Saxa (40 B.C.) and P. Ventidius in 39 and 38.

The enlarged province of Syria proceeded to divest itself of more and more Cilician territories as it contracted to a manageable area. Antonius, wise and courageous in his generosity, gave over to the vassals of Rome many regions that were difficult to police

East, perhaps, as indicated in the text, in 47/6. There is a further complication—he must be the same man as the Sextilius Rufus commanding a detachment of the Republican fleet off the coast of Cilicia in the summer of 43 B.C. (*Ad fam.*, 12, 13, 4; also perhaps Dio, 47, 31, 4, who calls him Λούκιον Ροῦφον; cf. Münzer, *RE*, II A, 2037). But it would be difficult to date the letter as late as 43 B.C., on the hypothesis that C. Sextilius Rufus was a governor of Cyprus then appointed by the Republicans after they had recovered the island from Cleopatra's general (Appian, *BC*, 5, 9, 35). None of the letters of that book (*Ad fam.*, 13) are likely to be quite so late.

¹ *Bell. Al.*, 66, 2.

² *Ad fam.*, 12, 15, 5: "usque Sidam, quae extrema regio est provinciae meae."

³ Dio, 49, 22, 3: τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τε Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας.

or unproductive to exploit. According to Appian, in 39 B.C. Amyntas, the secretary of Deiotarus the Galatian, received Pisidia for his dominion; Polemo, son of Zeno of Laodicea, Cilicia: ¹ as usual, the term "Cilicia" is deplorably vague. In this context it appears to cover Lycaonia, for Strabo definitely states that Polemo's capital was Iconium.² There is no reason to doubt this. Further, a point of interest: Philomelium, which had remained a part of Cilicia after 50 B.C., was perhaps now assigned to the province of Asia, where it remains ever after.³

Therefore, as early as 39 B.C., the province of Syria is reduced to Syria with Cilicia Pedias—for Cilicia Tracheia can hardly be regarded as provincial land. In any case, in 36 B.C., Tracheia was transferred to Cleopatra, so it is recorded.⁴ This cannot have been a large area—it was limited on the north by the domain of Antipater of Derbe, on the east by the principality of Olba, where Antonius recognized the rule of Aba as queen, and by the maritime possessions of King Tarcondimotus, namely Elaeussa and Corycus.⁵

The status of Cilicia Pedias under the early Principate is nowhere expressly stated—Dio's often anachronistic account of the division of the provinces in 27 B.C. gives no help.⁶ Some have found the problem troublesome, conjuring up nebulous theories of a separate Cilicia or a Cilicia united in one province with senatorial Cyprus.⁷ To discover the truth, one needs only to glance back to the Triumviral period. Indeed, for most ideas, acts and institutions of the Principate, the source and model lies there. Octavianus made war upon the Queen of Egypt, the ally of Antonius; and he alleged against his rival for power a shocking charge, that he had

¹ BC, 5, 75, 319.

² Strabo, p. 568. On this meaning of "Cilicia," cf. Appian, *Mithr.*, 75: on Polemo's dominion, W. M. Ramsay, "Lycaonia," *Jahreshefte*, VII (1904), Beiblatt, 65 f.

³ Pliny, *NH*, 5, 95. Yet, as Strabo says that Amyntas held certain parts of Phrygia Paroreios (p. 569), the transference might not have taken place till his death in 25 B.C.

⁴ Strabo, p. 671; A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities*, 209; 438.

⁵ On these dynasties, cf. now especially A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities*, 203 ff.; 209. Corycus and Elaeussa belonged to Tarcondimotus, as may be inferred from Dio, 54, 9, 2.

⁶ Dio, 53, 12, 7: ἡ Συρία ἡ κοίλη καλουμένη ἢ τε Φοινίκη καὶ Κιλικία καὶ Κύπρος καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος μερίδι τότε ἐγένοντο. It is evident that Syria, Cilicia Pedias and Cyprus will have formed one province until 22 B.C., when Cyprus was given to the Senate (Dio, 54, 4, 1). Syria, Phoenice and Cilicia (but not Cyprus) retained a common provincial assembly, *IGR*, I, 445.

⁷ W. E. Gwatkin, *Cappadocia as a Roman Procuratorial Province*. Univ. of Missouri Studies, V (1930): refuted by J. G. C. Anderson, *CR*, XLV (1931), 189 f.

surrendered provincial dominions of the Roman people to the kings of the East. After his victory, Octavianus maintained for the most part the *acta* of Antonius, whether they concerned Roman provinces or vassal-states (save that in Egypt he became king himself). In 27 B.C. the area of territory in Asia under direct Roman government was smaller than at any time since the ordinances of Pompeius.

Therefore, the extent and character of Syria under the Principate may easily be discovered—it is simply the Antonian province of Syria. There is indirect confirmation at an early date. Shortly after Actium, M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (*cos.* 31 B.C.) was appointed proconsul of Syria: ¹ if the verses of his *protégé*, the poet Tibullus, with the mention of Cilicians, the Taurus and the river Cydnus, are of any value, they indicate that Pedias belonged to his province.² It will not be forgotten, however, that the principality of Tarcondimotus in Pedias around Hieropolis-Castabala was soon revived,³ and that Tracheia as a whole continued for a century to be ruled by kings—by the monarchs of Galatia, Cappadocia and Commagene in turn. Ruler and title might vary—their function was the same. Cilicia Pedias remained a part of the province of Syria until the beginning of the reign of Vespasian. Antiochus IV, ruling over Commagene and Cilicia Tracheia, was deposed in A.D. 72. Commagene was added to Syria. Tracheia was now joined with Pedias in a new imperial province, governed by legates of praetorian rank.

For more than a century there had been no province bearing the name of Cilicia. The old Cilicia under the late Republic was a large but not anomalous province, with a function of its own, especially in the six years when it contained Phrygia, corresponded with the main road from Laodicea by Philomelium, Iconium and the Cilician Gates to Tarsus and was the most important command in the East, calling for three consular proconsuls in succession. Cilicia, gradually shrinking in area, was merged into Syria. In the meantime a new entity arose, lopped of Phrygia in the west and of Pedias in the east, but incorporating the central portions of the old province of Cilicia, namely Pamphylia, Pisidia, Pisidic Phrygia, Isauria,

¹ Dio, 51, 7, 7. The precise date of his governorship has been debated—and is here irrelevant.

² Tibullus, 1, 7, 13 ff.

³ Dio, 54, 9, 2 (20 B.C.).

Lycaonia and (for a time) Tracheia, and answering to the main function of that institution. Its area and history may now be summarily indicated, if only to round off the present enquiry and substantiate its principal contention.

IX. CONCLUSION : GALATIA

Cilicia lapsed to Syria and Syria soon discarded its acquisitions, retaining only the region of Pedias, which was commended by the respectable ties of geography and of history. Rome had broken the power of the Hellenistic monarchies, bringing thereby anarchy over all the East and trouble upon herself. It became expedient to restore these kingdoms or devise an equivalent. It was not the strength but the weakness of the vassal states that menaced the security of the Roman rule, as was evident during the Parthian invasion of 40 B.C. Hence the measures taken by M. Antonius—the strengthening of Egypt, the last survivor of the monarchies founded by the generals of Alexander, the choice of new men regardless of dynastic claims in the eastern principalities, and even the creation of entirely new kingdoms. Polemo, Herod, Archelaus and Amyntas were the rulers chosen by Antonius—and bequeathed to Augustus.¹

Antipater the son of Perilaus, lord of Derbe and Laranda, was not among them. Had he been loyal to Rome, it was his duty to lend help against the Parthians when they broke through the Cilician Gates in 40 B.C. A robber-prince is more likely to have been treacherous than incompetent. Treacherous, that is to say, to the Caesarians. Antipater had presumably been an adherent of Pompeius, and the Parthians were led by a Pompeian, young Labienus. Yet Antipater still continued in possession of his domain—too strong perhaps to be molested. Polemo, ruler of Lycaonia in 39-36, left him alone, as did Amyntas at first.

Amyntas came gradually to possess that largest of all the vassal kingdoms in Asia Minor. In 39 B.C. he was granted Pisidia. Three years later, after the death or deposition of Castor, the grandson of Deiotarus, Galatia proper (the territory of the three Galatian tribes) was added to his kingdom and “parts of Lycaonia and Pamphylia”

¹ W. W. Tarn, *CAH*, X, 69 f. ; 114.

as well ¹—for Polemo vacated his Lycaonian tetrarchy to become king over Pontus and Armenia Minor. In the War of Actium, Amyntas deserted Antonius at a suitable moment, just before the final decision. Confirmed by the victor in possession of his realm, like all the more important vassals except Cleopatra, the ostensible cause and head of the war, Amyntas received augmentation of territory, namely that part of Cilicia Tracheia that had been assigned to Egypt since 36 B.C.²

The extent of his dominion is made reasonably clear by various references in a contemporary writer.³ With one exception—Strabo says nothing whatever about the coast of Pamphylia. Hence doubt and confusion. But Amyntas coined at Side in Pamphylia.⁴ The area of his kingdom of Galatia can therefore be established—from the coast of Pamphylia and Tracheia northwards to the marches of Bithynia and of Paphlagonia, eastwards from the province of Asia to the frontiers of Cappadocia, of Commagene and of the province of Syria.

As the kingdom of Galatia included the unsubdued or uncertain regions of the Taurus, namely Pisidia, Isauria and the interior of Tracheia, it corresponded in function with the late-Republican province of Cilicia, with this difference: instead of extending from west to east along the highway from Asia to Syria, definable almost entirely in terms of that historic route, the Galatian kingdom lay athwart it, on a north-to-south axis, a geographical perversity. It was the duty of Amyntas to control, conquer and pacify the southern mountain zone, regions that no empire yet had subjugated. He set about his task with spirit and with vigour. In the west he

¹ Dio, 49, 32, 3.

² Strabo, p. 671.

³ In Strabo, pp. 568-571: also p. 671 (Tracheia).

⁴ *BM Cat., Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria* (1899), xviii; Head, *Historia Numorum* ² (1911), 747. This proves that the coast of Pamphylia belonged to Amyntas' kingdom, cf. *Klio*, XXX (1937), 227; A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities*, 413. Strabo nowhere records the status of the cities of Pamphylia; and Dio, stating that Amyntas received "parts of Pamphylia" (49, 32, 3), both implies that some of Pamphylia lay outside his kingdom and appears to believe in the existence of a separate province of Pamphylia (53, 26, 3—his account of what happened after the death of Amyntas). For these reasons the present writer, in an earlier essay, was moved to deny that Amyntas held the coast of Pamphylia, *Klio*, XXVII (1934), 122 ff. A mistake. The inaccurate passage in Cassius Dio (53, 26, 3) has been the cause of persistent errors. Emendation to produce sense, as there suggested (*Klio*, XXVII, 125), is no remedy. It may now be taken as pretty certain, on various and converging evidence, that both Amyntas' kingdom of Galatia and the Roman province, its successor, included the coast of Pamphylia. See further, below, p. 300, n. 2.

captured Cremna, a stronghold of the Pisidian hill-country and killed its tyrant: on the eastern flank he suppressed Antipater of Derbe. The central region baffled him. He attacked the tribe of the Homonadenses and slew their tyrant, only to perish subsequently in an ambush (25 B.C.).¹

Rome annexed. Augustus might now have revived the province of Cilicia, leaving the Galatians under a king. He chose instead to maintain the existing boundaries though recent in origin and enclosing a fantastic conglomeration of territories. Amyntas' kingdom—the whole of it, so Strabo clearly states—was made a Roman province.² Pamphylia had belonged to Amyntas; and there was never at any time a separate province of Pamphylia.³ Like Cilicia Pedias, it was too small to stand alone. Pamphylia could have been joined to Asia—but it was not. It now belonged to Galatia and it stayed with Galatia until Claudius, depriving the Lycians of their autonomy, separated Pamphylia from Galatia and created a new province, that of Lycia-Pamphylia.⁴

The Roman province of Galatia, or Galatia-Pamphylia as it may for convenience be designated, began in 25 B.C. Cilicia Tracheia, however, a region peculiarly suited to be ruled by kings, passed, perhaps at once, to Archelaus of Cappadocia.⁵

¹ Strabo, p. 569.

² Strabo, p. 567: *νῦν δ' ἔχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ Ἀμύντῃ γενομένην πᾶσαν εἰς μίαν συναγαγόντες ἐπαρχίαν*. Compare p. 569 (on Sagalassus). Dio's account runs: *καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἡ Γαλατία μετὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας Ῥωμαίων ἀρχοντα ἔσχε τά τε χωρία τὰ ἐκ τῆς Παμφυλίας πρότερον τῷ Ἀμύντῃ προσενηθέντα τῷ ἰδίῳ νομῷ ἀπεδόθη* (53, 26, 3, on which cf. *Klio*, XXVII, 125). Mr. Jones points out that Dio's account is best explained by his inability to conceive that a Roman province of Pamphylia did not exist (*The Cities*, 403). Under 11 B.C. and under A.D. 43 he speaks of such a province, wrongly (54, 34, 6; 60, 17, 3). Mr. Jones also adduces Pliny, *NH*, 5, 147, where the community of the Actalenses (i.e. Attaleia) is reckoned in with Galatia. This question will hardly need to be discussed afresh.

³ Compare the preceding note. Pamphylia had been added to the province of Asia (Cicero, *Ad fam.*, 12, 15, 5), probably by Caesar in 47 B.C. That the same assignment held for the time of Augustus has been argued recently by L. R. Taylor and T. R. S. Broughton, *AJP*, LV (1933), 127 f.; 139 ff. They did not, however, examine fully the problem of the area of Amyntas' kingdom or refer to the inscription from Attaleia honouring Augustus' legate, M. Plautius Silvanus (*SEG*, VI, 646, cf. *Klio*, XXVII, 139 ff.).

⁴ Dio, 60, 17, 3; Suetonius, *Divus Claudius*, 25. The procurator attested on a milestone at Attaleia in A.D. 50 (*ILS*, 215) is not a governor of Pamphylia, but simply the financial procurator of Galatia-Pamphylia whose *provincia* survived the severance of Pamphylia; cf. *Klio*, XXX (1937), 227 ff.

⁵ Strabo, p. 671 (cf. 535): Strabo's reasons are adequate—*ἐδόκει πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ τοιοῦτο βασιλεύεσθαι μᾶλλον τοὺς τόπους ἢ ὑπὸ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμόσιν εἶναι τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς κρίσεις πεμπομένοις, οἳ μήτ' αἰεὶ παρῆναι ἔμελλον μήτε μεθ' ὅπλων*.

Galatia-Pamphylia was a frontier-province of the first importance. On north and east it marched with the dependent kingdoms of Paphlagonia, Pontus and Cappadocia: in the south it possessed a military zone. Therefore the province might have been given a permanent garrison of legions. But Augustus could not spare the troops. None the less, there were legions in Galatia more than once during the Principate of Augustus, drawn, it will be guessed, from the armies of Syria and Egypt. The Roman governors inherited the duties that had been fatal to Amyntas. The first imperial legate was M. Lollius, of praetorian rank.¹ On at least three occasions, however, the existence of consular legates may be surmised: they were L. Calpurnius Piso (*cos.* 15 B.C.), P. Sulpicius Quirinius (*cos.* 12 B.C.), and M. Plautius Silvanus (*cos.* 2 B.C.).² Consular legates in Galatia need not arouse disquiet or scandal—the hierarchy of imperial provinces and their division into consular and praetorian was the result, not of a single act in the month of January, 27 B.C., but of a long process. At first Augustus divided as he pleased the different regions comprised in his *provincia*, west and east. His legates might be either praetorian or consular: it depended upon the nature of the tasks or the standing of the men available. There is quite clear evidence, for example, for the two Spanish provinces in the years 27-19 B.C.³

There was much to be done in Galatia. The full history of it all is lost—it was never written. The visible results were half a dozen military colonies, a road—or rather, a series of roads—and a pacified land.⁴ This was not the work of one man or of one campaign. In 13 or 12 B.C., L. Calpurnius Piso is attested in Pamphylia: ⁵ he was called away to suppress a great insurrection in

¹ Eutropius, 7, 10, 2.

² For the evidence and for arguments in support of this theory, see *Klio*, XXVII, 122ff. It is accepted in the main by J. G. C. Anderson, *CAH*, X, 270 ff.; 877 f.

³ *AJP*, LV (1934), 315 ff.; cf. also *JRS*, XXIV (1934), 125 (on praetorian or consular proconsuls in Macedonia).

⁴ The credit, not merely of illuminating and enlarging, but very precisely of discovering, this notable chapter of Anatolian and of imperial Roman history belongs to Sir William Ramsay (see especially "Studies in the Roman Province of Galatia, I. The Homanadeis and the Homanadensian War," *JRS*, VII (1917), 229 ff.). The present writer regrets that he should be compelled to disagree about Quirinius and about the status of Galatia in the time of Augustus.

⁵ Dio, 54, 34, 6: also *Anth. Pal.*, 6, 241 (a helmet presented to Piso by Pylaemenes—presumably the son of Amyntas, cf. *OGIS*, 533). *Anth. Pal.*, 11, 424, written by a Piso, concerns Galatia.

Thrace. At some date between 12 B.C. and A.D. 1, P. Sulpicius Quirinius subjugated at last the land of the Homonadenses—a necessary but not an urgent task.¹ Under the year A.D. 6 the historian Cassius Dio records an Isaurian War that otherwise would never have been known: ² it may be presumed that M. Plautius Silvanus terminated that war. Like Piso some twenty years earlier, he brought an army from the East for service in the Balkans (A.D. 7).³ Silvanus is honoured by an inscription of Attaleia in Pamphylia which describes him as *πρεσβευτὴν ἀντιστράτηγον Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ*.⁴

Galatia, a large subject, may not suitably be discussed here. Among other things, however, an attempt has been made to assert and demonstrate a continuity in function, though not precisely in area, between Cicero's province of Cilicia, the kingdom of Amyntas and the Augustan province of Galatia. Not, indeed, that that is a novel or alarming contention. It was stated forty years ago by Sir William Ramsay in a most convincing fashion.⁵

The present essay, dedicated to Mr. Buckler and written for a volume of which Professors Calder and Keil are the editors, is intended as the acknowledgment, however summary and imperfect, of a great debt due to the learned company of scholars whose labours have illuminated the history and antiquities of Anatolia.

¹ Tacitus, *Ann.*, 3, 48; Strabo, p. 569. The acephalous *elogium* from Tibur (*ILS*, 918) is best omitted. It may belong to Quirinius: if so, it cannot in itself prove that he was twice governor of Syria, i.e., not only when he held a well-authenticated census after the annexation of Judaea in A.D. 6, but also at an earlier date. The first post which Quirinius held, not preserved on the inscription but implied by its language, will then have been that of legate of Augustus governing the province of Galatia.

² Dio, 55, 28, 3. The precise tribe involved cannot be known, for Dio is probably using "Isaurian" in the wide sense of his own day, referring to Cilicia Tracheia and its hinterland, not merely to the region about Isaura Vetus and Isaura Nova, not far from Derbe. Perhaps a resurgence of the Homonadenses?

³ Velleius, 2, 112, 4.

⁴ SEG, VI, 646, cf. *Klio*, XXVII, 139 ff. The supporting (but superfluous) inference there drawn from the presence of the name Silvanus, [*ἐπὶ Σ*] *Ἰλουανο*[*ῶ*], on the inscription of the Sebasteion at Ancyra (*OGIS*, 533) is probably incorrect. Further, the four names occurring at intervals on the inscription are perhaps not those of high priests, who had taken names from the governors, but represent the governors themselves, as argued long ago by Rostovtzeff, *Mélanges Boissier* (1903), 418 ff.

⁵ In his *Historical Commentary on Galatians* (1899).

THE CORRECTOR MAXIMUS

by MARCUS N. TOD

AMONG the most polished of the extant epistles of the younger Pliny is the twenty-fourth letter of Book VIII. In it he addresses a friend, named Maximus, who has just been appointed by Trajan *ad ordinandum statum liberarum civitatum* in the province of Achaea,¹ and lays down certain principles which should guide him in the discharge of a difficult and delicate task. He urges him to bear in mind the services rendered by Greece to civilized life, to respect the ancient and glorious traditions of her cities and to seek by tact and sympathy to inspire affection rather than fear. He emphasizes the purpose of Maximus' mission as expressed in his title and appeals to him not to falsify the high hopes evoked by his own past record of public service.

Of the content and literary *genre* of this letter, of the spirit which animates it and of the Ciceronian echoes clearly perceptible in its thought and phraseology I do not propose to speak, since these subjects have been admirably discussed in a recent article² by Friedrich Zucker; but of the personality of its recipient something may still be said.

The identification of this Maximus has long puzzled commentators and historians. Following J. H. W. Henzen,³ C. de la Berge saw⁴ in him the Messius (or Maesius)⁵ Maximus to whom Pliny addressed two letters (III, 20; IV, 25), and E. Allain shared⁶

¹ Of these free states only the two most prominent, Athens and Sparta, are named in the letter (§ 4); for the names of the rest see F. Zucker, *Philol.*, LXXXIV, 210, and the authorities there cited, or De Ruggiero, *Diz. Ep.*, I, 37 f.

² *Philol.*, LXXXIV, 209 ff.

³ Orelli-Henzen, *Inscr. Lat.*, III (1856), 6483.

⁴ *Essai sur le règne de Trajan* (1877), 119.

⁵ Maesius is adopted in E. T. Merrill's edition from the index appended to the Ashburnham codex (B). Guillemin (*Pline le Jeune*, III, 170) and Stein (*RE*, XIV, 282; XV, 1244) record the variant forms without expressing a preference. M. Schuster adopts Maesius.

⁶ *Pline le Jeune*, III (1902), 125 ff.

the same view. Others have equated him with the Vibius Maximus whose name occurs as the addressee of III, 2 : thus C. F. W. Müller assigns ¹ to Vibius Maximus not only III, 2, but eight other letters (II, 14 ; VI, 11, 34 ; VII, 26 ; VIII, 19, 24 ; IX, 1, 23), including that which is under discussion, which bear the single name Maximus, and finds a further reference to him in VI, 8, 4, while more recently R. C. Kükula maintains ² the identity of the *corrector* with Vibius Maximus, and Merrill adopts ³ the same view. R. Paribeni refers, ⁴ I do not know on what ground, to the *corrector* as Quintus Maximus. But a large and growing body of opinion favours the identification of Pliny's correspondent with Sex. Quinctilius Valerius Maximus, the earlier part of whose career is known from a Latin inscription discovered at his native place, Alexandria in the Troad, which runs as follows (CIL, III, 384) : *Sex. Quinctilio | Sex. f. Ani(ensi) Valerio | Maximo, lato clavo exornato a divo Aug(usto) | Nerva, quaestori Ponti et Bithyniae, patrono | coloniae, pontifici, II | viro, praef(ecto) fabrum, | II viralib(us) et sacerd(otalibus) ornam(enti)s honor(ato), | d.d. | vic(us) X.* This identification was first suggested in 1870 by W. H. Waddington in his commentary ⁵ on the inscription in question, and was endorsed three years later by Mommsen in a note ⁶ on a Latin inscription set up at Athens in honour of Diocletian by L. Turr. Gratianus, *v.c.*, *corr(ector) prov(inciae) Achaiae* ; Mommsen added that the same Maximus might well be the *corrector* (διορθωτής) of Achaia referred to in Arrian's *Epicteti Dissert.*, III, 7. Neither of these scholars argued the case at all fully, but their view was accepted by H. Dessau ⁷ in 1892, by P. von Rohden ⁸ in 1898, and by A. von Premerstein ⁹ in 1901. Even now, however, it was not universally accepted ; no reference to it is found in H. Keil's Teubner

¹ C. Plini Cæcili Secundi Epistulae (1903), 392.

² Ibid. (1908), 415, ed. alt. (1912), 426.

³ P. 315. To Vibius Maximus he assigns without question III, 2 ; VI, 34 ; VIII, 24, and dubiously II, 14 ; VI, 11 ; VII, 26 ; VIII, 19 ; IX, 1, 23. A. M. Guillemin (*Pline le Jeune : Lettres*, III, 189) follows E. Groag (*Öst. Jahresh.*, XXI-XXII, Beiblatt, 437, n. 36) in attributing to him IX, 1 in addition to III, 2. Schuster agrees with Merrill save in regard to VIII, 24.

⁴ *Optimus Princeps* (1927), II, 164. He cites in this connexion Alibrandi, *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto*, V (1884), 185 (this should be 189), but that passage does not contain the *praenomen*.

⁵ LW, III, 266, on No. 1037.

⁷ ILS, 1018.

⁹ RE, IV, 1646.

⁶ CIL, III, 6103.

⁸ PIR, III, 117 (23).

edition of the Letters,¹ in the selections of E. T. Merrill² and G. B. Allen,³ or in Merrill's masterly critical edition of the text,⁴ nor is Maximus noticed in the "Biographical Index of Notable Persons" appended to the Loeb edition of Pliny's Correspondence.⁵

The inquiry reached a new stage with a brilliant article⁶ by E. Groag, which will remain for long, if not permanently, the basic study of the life of Quinctilius Valerius Maximus, and will, no doubt, be summarized in due course in the *Real-Encyclopädie* and in the second edition of the *PIR*. Starting from a passage in Pliny's *Panegyricus* (70), which refers to the outstanding services rendered to the finances of an unnamed provincial city by a quaestor, whose honesty and energy had won him *maximum praemium, iudicium principis, suffragium principis*, he calls attention to the echoes of this passage heard in letter VIII, 24, 8: *onerat te quaesturae tuae fama, quam ex Bithynia optimam revexisti, onerat testimonium principis, onerat tribunatus, praetura atque haec ipsa legatio quasi praemium data*, and establishes a strong case for seeing in the unnamed quaestor of the *Panegyricus* the *corrector* of the later letter, whom he unhesitatingly identifies with the Sex. Quinctilius Valerius Maximus of the Alexandrian inscription. He then traces Maximus' career. After holding the highest secular and sacred offices in his native city, he received the *latus clavus* from Nerva and secured the quaestorship⁷ and therewith admission to the Senate. As quaestor he was assigned by the lot (§ 9, *sorte . . . missus*) to Bithynia and Pontus, where he seems to have won a distinction (§ 8, *fama, quam optimam revexisti*), possibly as acting-governor in the absence or during the

¹ Leipzig, 1876, ed. stereot., 1896.

² *Selected Letters of the Younger Pliny* (1903), 374. Merrill refers to his note on II, 14 (p. 243), which runs: "Concerning the personality of the Maximus whose cognomen alone stands at the head of this letter nothing can be definitely determined. Nine letters are addressed by Pliny to Maximus, and the number is so unusual to be addressed by him to a single person as to arouse the suspicion that more than one person is made by defect of the MSS. to go under the same designation." This recurs in the re-issue of 1935.

³ *Selected Letters of Pliny* (1915), 137.

⁴ Leipzig, 1922.

⁵ *Pliny: Letters*, with an English translation by W. Melmoth revised by W. M. L. Hutchinson (1915), II, 435 ff.

⁶ *Öst. Jahresh.*, XXI-XXII, Beiblatt, 435 ff.

⁷ Groag thinks (*op. cit.*, 438) that he had perhaps as a young man fulfilled the military qualification and that he may have been exempted, on the ground of his relatively advanced age on entering a senatorial career, from the normal obligation of holding one of the minor magistracies comprised in the vigintivirate; the Alexandrian inscription, at least, records no such tenure.

illness of the proconsul,¹ which secured for him the favourable notice of Trajan, who succeeded Nerva on the throne in January, A.D. 98, and led to his further promotion. The date of this quaestorship can be approximately, though not exactly, determined. Since the bestowal of the *latus clavus* by Nerva preceded the election to the office of quaestor, this latter can be dated at the earliest on 23 January,² A.D. 97, and Maximus' entry upon his *quaestura* cannot fall before 5 December of that year: on the other hand, by January, 100, to which Pliny refers in *Panegyricus*, 70, it was already over (*praefuerat provinciae*).³ Thus we are left with the years 5 December, 97, to 4 December, 98, or 5 December, 98, to 4 December, 99, for Maximus' quaestorship.⁴ In January, 100, Trajan commended him for the tribunate, which he held from 10 December, 100, until 9 December, 101. Next came the praetorship, which, in view of the Emperor's favour, already attested and later to be renewed, we may assign to 103 or one of the next following years. Our knowledge of Maximus' *cursus* ends with his appointment as *corrector*⁵ of the

¹ Groag holds that some such assumption is necessary, for the trivial duties of the normal provincial quaestor would afford no scope for the attainment of a reputation such as to justify the phrase used by Pliny. I may add that the phrase *praefuerat provinciae* (*Paneg.*, l.c.) may point in the same direction (cf. *quibus pro consule praefuit* used of the governor of Africa in Pliny, *Ep.*, II, 11, 2). Yet I am not wholly convinced: the quaestor's main achievement lay in the financial service rendered to a single state within the province (*civitatis amplissimae reditus egregia constitutione fundaverat*), and I can well believe that a proconsul lacking energy or financial interest might leave to the quaestor the task of solving a difficult problem of this kind, especially if that quaestor happened to be, like Maximus, a man of mature years and considerable experience in municipal affairs. For the independence of the provincial quaestor see Pliny, *Ep.*, IV, 12.

² Such, at least, is the date suggested by Mommsen (*Staatsrecht*, I,³ 589 f.) and accepted by Groag (*op. cit.* 439).

³ The Alexandrian inscription, erected presumably during Maximus' quaestorship, refers to Nerva as *divus* and must therefore date from Trajan's reign.

⁴ If Mommsen is right, as Groag doubts (*op. cit.*, 439, n. 45), in holding that the provincial quaestor began his functions only on 1 July following his entry upon office, together with the proconsul of the province, and continued, whether his year had or had not elapsed, until relieved by his successor, Maximus' quaestorship must have begun in December, 97, and his provincial duties in July, 98, since these were, as we have seen, concluded before January, 100.

⁵ For the *correctores*, of whom Maximus affords the earliest known example (for Hartmann's view that the *διορθωτής* of Arrian, *Epicteti Dissert.*, III, 7, belongs to the Flavian period, see Groag, *op. cit.*, 443, n. 62), see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II,³ 857 f., A. von Premerstein, *RE*, IV, 1646 ff. Pliny does not use this title, but his phrases (*missum ad ordinandum statum liberarum civitatum*, § 2; *qui imperium, qui fasces habet*, § 6; *officii tui titulum . . . ordinare statum* l.c., § 7; *haec ipsa legatio*, § 8) indicate its scope and character, and the term *διορθωτής* used by Arrian (III, 7, title and § 1) must be the Greek rendering of a Latin title *corrector*. Cf. E. De Ruggiero, *Diz. Ep.*, III, 1242 ff.

civitates liberae lying within the frontiers of the province of Achaea, notably Athens and Sparta. Though himself probably of Italian rather than of Greek stock,¹ he had been born and reared in Asia Minor, had doubtless mastered the Greek tongue and come to some extent under Hellenic influence; his administrative experience in his native city, coupled with his financial success in Bithynia, marked him out as exceptionally qualified to deal with the problems of organization and finance which called for the Imperial intervention in the free cities of Achaea.²

The date of his appointment and the duration of his mission are unknown. Groag places it soon after the praetorship and "certainly not after 108-9,"³ the date to which the publication of Book VIII of the Letters is usually assigned.⁴ B. W. Henderson dates Maximus' dispatch "in the year A.D. 109,"⁵ presumably on the assumption that so interesting and so finished an example of Pliny's epistolary art would be published at the first opportunity. The last glimpse we get of Maximus, if he is the same as the homonymous ⁶ διορθωτής of Arrian, is that of his discomfiture by the Stoic teacher Epictetus, whose seminary at Nicopolis he visited when proceeding to the scene of his new duties. Epictetus ruthlessly

¹ Groag, *op. cit.*, 444, n. 66; F. Zucker, *Philol.*, LXXXIV, 214; C. S. Walton, *JRS*, XIX, 48.

² Whether Trajan acted on his own initiative or on that of the cities concerned is unknown. In view of his scrupulous regard for the privileges of the cities of Bithynia-Pontus a few years later (e.g. Pliny, *Ep.*, X, 48, 93), I prefer to think that in this appointment Trajan was responding to a request made by the free cities themselves, though it is by no means impossible that such a request was inspired from the side of Rome. Certainly there is no suggestion in Pliny's letter that Maximus may encounter a spirit of resentment roused by the Emperor's disregard of their rights.

³ *Op. cit.*, 441 f. Cf. F. Zucker, *Philol.*, LXXXIV, 212, n. 15.

⁴ See Mommsen, *Hermes*, III, 31 ff. (= *Ges. Schr.*, IV, 366 ff.), H. Peter, *Abh. Leipzig*, XX, 3, 102 ff. W. Otto has effectively challenged Mommsen's view regarding the chronological arrangement of the letters (*Sitzb. München*, 1919, 10, 17 ff.: cf. Schuster, *Bursians Jahresb.*, CCXXI, 55 ff.).

⁵ *Five Roman Emperors* (1927), 204.

⁶ I do not understand Henderson's phrase (*op. cit.*, 205), "an (unnamed) διορθωτής τῶν ἐλευθέρων πόλεων . . . who one day strolled rashly into the lecture-room of . . . Epictetus." The name Μάξιμος, which occurs twice in Arrian's account (III, 7, 3, 10), must surely be that of the διορθωτής in question. W. A. Oldfather, commenting on the name (*Epictetus*, Loeb edition, II, 50) in Arrian's narrative, contents himself with saying "There were at least two distinguished men of the name at this time, but it is not clear that either one is meant."

exposed the weakness of the Epicurean faith, of which Maximus, like the Empress Plotina,¹ was an adherent.²

Groag has given a much firmer foundation to the belief that Pliny's friend was Sex. Quintilius Valerius Maximus of Alexandria Troas, though his reasoning still falls short of formal proof. It has been accepted without question by A. M. Guillemin, who gives a useful summary of his article, though omitting all reference to Alexandria Troas,³ by F. Zucker,⁴ and by the latest editor of Pliny's Letters, M. Schuster.⁵ On the other hand, B. W. Henderson regarded the identification as "doubtful,"⁶ and R. P. Longden goes no further than to deem it "possible."⁷

Of Maximus' subsequent career nothing is known. Groag thinks it probable that he became *consul suffectus* under Trajan,⁸ but of this no record has survived. Of the distinction attained by his descendants, two of whom held the consulship jointly in A.D. 151, and others in 172 and 180, and of the extermination of the family in the reign of Commodus much is known, both from inscriptions and from literary evidence,⁹ but of them I must not here speak. One reference, however, which, though overlooked by previous scholars, has not escaped the eagle eye of Groag,¹⁰ deserves brief mention.

The Museum Nanianum contained a Spartan inscription¹¹

¹ SIG³, 834= IG, II², 1099; cf. P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, 204 ff.

² For the whole episode see H. Hartmann, *Neue Jahrb.*, XV, 261 f., with the remark of Zucker, *Philol.*, LXXXIV, 212.

³ *Pline le Jeune: Lettres* (1928), III, 178: she thinks that six other letters (II, 14; VI, 11, 34; VII, 26; VIII, 19; IX, 23) were addressed to this same Maximus. C. Sicard, a still more recent translator, calls Pliny's correspondent Quintilius Maximus, "destinataire de plusieurs lettres," but confines himself to the not very helpful comment "Beaucoup de personnages ne nous sont ainsi connus que par les renseignements que donne Pline à leur sujet" (*Pline le Jeune: Lettres* (1931), II, 374, nn. 59, 60).

⁴ *Philol.*, LXXXIV, 210 ff.

⁵ *Plinius Minor: Opera* (Leipzig, 1933), 494. Cf. E. Groag, *RE*, XIV, 2540, No. 2.

⁶ *Five Roman Emperors* (1927), 205.

⁷ *Cambridge Ancient History*, XI (1936), 219, n. 1. It appears, however, that Groag's article had escaped the notice of Henderson and Longden, who otherwise could hardly have failed to cite it.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, 444: "Q.M. wird wohl noch unter Traian zum Konsulat (als suffectus) gelangt sein." Guillemin states this more positively (*op. cit.*, III, 178).

⁹ See Groag, *op. cit.*, 443 f.; von Rohden, *PIR*, III, 116 f., Nos. 19-24; F. Zucker, *op. cit.*, 214; Waddington, *Fastes des prov. asiat.*, 229 ff.; A. Reinach, *Rev. Ép.*, I, 316 f.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, 443, n. 63.

¹¹ *CIG*, 1306; *IG*, V, 1, 380. Kolbe (*IG*, *loc. cit.*) and Groag assume Spartan origin; but it is a far cry from Sparta to Cythera, and the claim of Gythium deserves consideration

found on the island of Cythera, engraved on the base of a statue of Trajan erected towards the close of his reign.¹ The stone is lost and the two available copies are very faulty, rendering satisfactory restoration impossible; but in ll. 8-10 we seem to have the words τὸ ἀνάλωμα π[οιη[σαμέ]νων ἐκ τῶν τῆς πόλεως [πρ]ο[σόδων . . .] γυμνασίου καὶ [- - οντ]ος Κυντι[λί]ου Μαξίμου κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα|| τὸ τῆς πόλεως βουλ - -.² Amid much that is uncertain, the name of Quintilius Maximus may be regarded as well established, and in view of the date of the inscription and the absence of other Quintilii in the Spartan records, we may confidently claim him either as the *corrector* or as his son.³

One more inscription calls for fuller treatment in this connexion. In 1929 V. Viale published⁴ the following text, engraved on a limestone block built into the Byzantine walls of Adalia (Attalea in Pamphylia):

Πόντου καὶ Βειθυ|νίας, δήμαρχον, | στρατηγόν, πρεσβευ|τὴν
καὶ ἀντιστρά|στηγον ἐπαρχειῶν | Ἀχαιίας καὶ Ἀσίας, | Μάρκος
Σεπρώνιος (sic) Ἀλβανὸς ἀρχιερεὺς | καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης, || ¹⁰ ἐπαρχος
ἱππέων Ἰλῆς | Σεβαστῆς Γερμανικ|ανῆς, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον.

This stone was discovered and copied in 1922 by the guide of the Italian Archaeological Mission, Hadji Nikola Ferteklis, but was soon

in view of the find-spot of the stone and the occurrence of the phrase ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέος διὰ βίου τῶν [Σε]β[α]στών . . . καὶ κηδεμόνος τῆς πόλεως (ll. 5, 6), which is paralleled in the τὸν ἀρχιερεῖα τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ κηδεμόνα τοῦ ἔθνους of an honorary inscription from Gythium (IG, V, 1, 1171). C. Julius Eurycles Herculanus (ll. 6, 7) was honoured with a statue at Gythium (*op. cit.*, 1172: for his *stemma* see *op. cit.*, p. 307).

¹ The Emperor is entitled ἄριστος (sic) and Παρθικός: I do not think, with Boeckh, that the phrase θεὸς ἀνίκητος (l. 3) forces us to date the monument after Trajan's death in 117. Kolbe assigns it to A.D. 115.

² Such is the reading of IG, to which Wilhelm contributed the phrase τὸ ἀνάλωμα . . . προσόδων. In l. 9 the copy gives ΜΚΥΣΚΥΝΤΙΕΟΥ.

³ Groag says (*loc. cit.*): "Der Sohn unseres Maximus, der von Epiktet erwähnt wird, ist wohl derselbe, den eine lakedämonische Inschrift . . . nennt und dessen Ämter bis zur Legation in Achaia ein Denkmal aus Tusculum aufzählt (CIL, XIV, 2609)." Thus Groag sees in the consuls of 151 the grandsons, and in those of 172 and 180 the great-grandsons, of the *corrector*. Groag's solution seems to me highly probable. It is hardly likely, though not wholly impossible, that the mission of the *corrector* lasted until A.D. 115 and that he is the person mentioned in IG, V, 1, 380, nor that this inscription refers to some regulation drawn up by him during his term of office. W. Hüttel, however, prefers (*Antoninus Pius*, II, 3) to assign the Tusculan inscription, as was done in *PIR*, to Sex. Quintilius Valerius Maximus, consul in 151.

⁴ *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeol. di Atene*, VIII-IX, 365 ff.: cf. *SEG*, VI, 650.

afterwards broken up and used as building material, so that no squeeze or photograph is procurable. Happily the text seems to have been clear and complete (save at the beginning, where the earlier part, probably engraved on a superposed block, has not yet come to light), and the copy may be regarded as accurate, with the possible exception of Σεπρώνιος (l. 7). This text and Viale's commentary were unknown to Groag, while Groag's article was similarly unknown to Viale, whose report, though published in 1929, bears the date January, 1923. Nor has it, so far as I am aware, attracted the notice of other scholars, perhaps because it escaped the attention of the editors of the *Année Épigraphique*.¹ Viale argued that the inscription must relate to the *corrector* Maximus, whose identity with Sex. Quinctilius Valerius Maximus he unquestioningly accepts, and, assuming the loss of one block (of about the same dimensions as that which survived) containing some seven to nine lines, he offered the following conjectural restoration, based on the inscription of Alexandria Troas :

[Σέξτον Κυινκτί|λιον Σέξτον υἱὸν | Οὐαλέριον Μάξι|μον, ὑπὸ
τοῦ² θεοῦ | Νέρουα τῇ πλατυ|σήμῳ κοσμηθέντα, | ταμίαν ἀντιστρά-
τηγον ἐπαρχείας] | Πόντου κτλ.

He rightly points out that we have to deal with the record of a *cursus* in ascending (i.e. chronological) order, and that therefore the office held in the province of Pontus and Bithynia must be that of quaestor. This justifies, he claims,³ the restoration [ταμίαν ἀντιστράτηγον ἐπαρχείας] immediately before the extant portion of the text. He does not believe that the person commemorated "attained the consulship and that this office must therefore be restored immediately after the name and before the other honours, as often happens in honorary inscriptions," because "our personage after the praetorship held only the *legationes* of Achaea and Asia, and it is hard to believe that only and immediately after them he attained

¹ *Ann. Épigr.*, 1933, 7 f.

² The insertion of the article is contrary to epigraphical usage.

³ Yet a glance at Dessau's Index (*ILS*, III, p. 409) or at the lists of quaestors of the several provinces given in De Ruggiero's *Diz. Ep.* (e.g. I, 32 (Achaea), 335 (Africa)) will show that the words *pro praetore* (ἀντιστράτηγος) are more often omitted than inserted: nor is the word *provinciae* (ἐπαρχείας) invariably expressed (*IGR*, I, 431, ταμίης Πόντου Βειθυνίας; 1017, τ. Βειθυνίας; III, 551, 667, τ. Κύπρου; IV, 1741, τ. Λυκίας Παμφυλίας).

the consulship.”¹ He dates the inscription in the first half of the second century A.D., mainly on the ground that a *terminus ante quem* is provided by the quaestorship of Pontus and Bithynia, which must relate to the period during which this province remained senatorial, i.e. down to about A.D. 135 or at latest about 160 (cf. A. von Premerstein, *Klio*, XIII, 80 f.), while a *terminus post quem* is given by the *legationes* in the senatorial provinces of Achaea and Asia, which he regards as being “certainly” *legationes extraordinariae* of the type instituted by Trajan. This dating he confirms by an appeal to (a) the excellent epigraphical characters, so far as can be gathered from the copy and descriptions of Hadji Nikola, (b) the diction of the inscription, and (c) its mention of the *ala Germaniciana*, hitherto known only from inscriptions of the first century.

In face of these arguments Viale claims that only one person, Sex. Quinctilius Valerius Maximus of Alexandria Troas, fulfils the conditions of the extant portion of the inscription, and he therefore restores its lost beginning, as we have seen, upon this assumption.

Two further pieces of evidence adduced by Viale must be noted if full justice is to be done to his case. First, he sees a reference to Maximus’ Asiatic *legatio* in a fragmentary Latin inscription of Alexandria Troas published by A. Reinach (*Rev. Ép.*, I, 315 ff.):

DIVI
EX. PR
SEX. QVIN

“Unable to doubt that the SEX QVIN . . . referred to in this inscription is our personage and regarding also as certain the restoration *ex pr[ovincia civitates]* proposed by Reinach in line 2,” Viale assigns the inscription to “a monument erected at Alexandria in honour of an Emperor (probably Trajan) at the expense of the cities of the province of Asia on the initiative or by the care of Sex. Quinctilius,” who, he concludes, must have held a high official post, almost certainly that of *corrector* of the free cities of Asia. “Perhaps the result of the mission in Achaea was so successful that the Emperor Trajan was persuaded to extend the mandate of Sex.

¹ I find no difficulty in believing that a man might attain the consulship after being praetor and holding two extraordinary *legationes* such as Viale believes to be indicated in the inscription under discussion. That the proconsulship of a senatorial province or the legateship of an Imperial province was not invariable Pliny’s own career proves.

Quinctilius to another province which also needed care and relief. Possibly the fact that Sex. Quinctilius was an Asiatic and that he therefore had a sure knowledge of the problems of the province and a clear vision of the remedies to apply and of the measures to adopt influenced the Emperor's decision." Secondly, Viale thinks that the case is further strengthened by the fact that the dedicator, M. Sempronius, is prefect of that *ala Germaniciana* which is known to have been stationed for a longish period at "Pisidian" Antioch.¹ "Certainly an Asiatic, as follows from his offices and from the fact that other Asiatics also were prefects of the said *ala*," he emphasizes the fact that the person honoured was his friend. But "with what member of the senatorial order could M. Sempronius have had friendly relations better than with Sex. Quinctilius, who himself also was of Asiatic origin and received the *latus clavus* from the Emperor Nerva only, it would seem, at a mature age?" He therefore dates the Alexandrian fragment to the years immediately following *ca.* A.D. 110-112.

The case is clearly and forcibly argued and *prima facie* makes a strong appeal. If Viale's interpretation and restoration are accepted, the document gains in interest and value, though it adds nothing to our knowledge of Sex. Quinctilius' career save the fact of a *legatio* in Asia subsequent to that in Achaea. Further consideration, however, seems to me to suggest grave doubts, if not wholly to invalidate Viale's view. For, in the first place, it rests entirely on the assumption that the identification of the *corrector* Maximus with Sex. Quinctilius Valerius Maximus is justified, an assumption which even Groag's article, unknown to Viale, has raised to the level only of a very probable hypothesis and not of a demonstrated fact. But even if we grant the validity of the identification, serious difficulties remain. Viale's determination of the time-limits within which the record falls is open to criticism. As regards the *terminus ante quem*, he speaks as if the quaestorship of Pontus-Bithynia dated the inscription, and fails to allow for the fact that after that event a considerable time may have been occupied by the tenure of the

¹ It is mentioned elsewhere only in *CIL*, III, 6821-2, 6831; *JRS*, II, 99, being twice called *ala Aug. Germaniciana* and twice *ala Aug. Germanica*: cf. Cichorius, *RE*, I, 1247; W. M. Calder, *JRS*, II, 101. With Calder I look on *Germaniciana* as probably derived from the name Germanicus: cf. similar names of *alae*, Antoniniana, Aetectorigiana, Frontoniana, Gemelliana, Longiniana, etc.

other offices enumerated and the intervals between them. On the other hand, the *terminus post quem* fixed by Viale depends absolutely on the unhesitating assumption that the phrase *πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον ἐπαρχιῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἀσίας* must refer to extraordinary *legationes*,¹ such as that held by the *corrector* Maximus in Achaëa. But for such an assumption we have no warrant.

The title *legatus pro praetore provinciae* (e.g. *Asiae*), or its Greek equivalent *πρεσβευτὴς (καὶ) ἀντιστράτηγος ἐπαρχείας (Ἀσίας)*,² is of very common occurrence in inscriptions of the Imperial period, denoting a *legatus* who assisted a proconsul in the administration of a senatorial province; such *legati* normally numbered three in Asia or Africa and one in each of the remaining provinces. To collect examples here is needless in view of the abundant array presented in Dessau's Index³ or in De Ruggiero's *Dizionario Epigrafico*,⁴ but I cannot refrain from quoting two cases, that of C. Antius Aulus Julius Quadratus of Pergamum, *πρεσβευτὴς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Ἀσίας δις καὶ Πόντου καὶ Βειθυνίας*,⁵ and that of —us Claudianus of Xanthus in Lycia, *πρεσβε[υτὴς ἀντιστράτηγος ἐπ']αρχιῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἀσί[ας]*,⁶ which illustrate the successive tenure of this post by the same person in two provinces or in the same province under different proconsuls. The *legatio* of Maximus was of a totally different nature; he was the appointee of the Emperor, responsible to him directly and alone, and though *missus in provinciam Achaïam* he did not administer the province as such, which continued presumably⁷ to be ruled by a proconsul assisted by a legate, but the free cities within it. Can we believe that Marcus Sempronius, naturally anxious to enhance his friend's honour, failed to make any attempt to indicate the special and unique nature of the task

¹ Si tratta certo qui di quelle legazioni straordinarie, etc. (*op. cit.*, 366).

² The form of the title is not constant. Sometimes the phrase *pro praetore* (*ἀντιστράτηγος*) is omitted, sometimes the word *provinciae* (*ἐπαρχείας*), sometimes both; occasionally *proconsulis* is added or the proconsul's name is recorded (e.g. Dessau, *ILS*, 961, 990, 1061, 1067, 8817, 9357). Once we have *leg. Augg. prov. Asiae*, but the word *Aug(ustorum)* is rejected by Dessau (*ILS*, 1155) as an engraver's error, *nam sine dubio Avitus adhuc quaestorius non extraordinaria aliqua legatione iussu imperatoris in Asia functus est, sed comitatus est proconsulem Asiae*.

³ *ILS*, III, pp. 382 ff.

⁴ *S.vv.* Achaëa (I, 31), Asia (I, 722), etc.

⁵ *IGR*, IV, 1686; cf. 373, 375, 383-385, 389-390.

⁶ *IGR*, III, 615 = Dessau, 8821 = *TAM*, II, 282; cf. Stein, *PIR*, II², 162, No. 753, and C. S. Walton, *JRS*, XIX, 49, who assign the inscription to Trajan's reign. For one who was [*leg. proconsulu*] in *Africae et Ac[h]aïae*, see *CIL*, VI, 1401.

⁷ Henderson, *Five Roman Emperors*, 204 f.; Paribeni, *Optimus Princeps*, II, 164.

entrusted to him? that he gave to it a title which was incorrect and misleading? that he omitted to add the essential word Σεβαστοῦ or Αὐτοκράτορος or a mention of Trajan's name? I, for one, cannot.

But once this is admitted, Viale's whole case seems to me to fall to the ground. The year in which Trajan dispatched Maximus as *corrector* to Achaea can no longer be claimed as the *terminus post quem* of the Adalia inscription, which may equally well belong to that portion of the first century during which Achaea was under senatorial administration.¹ Moreover, the sole remaining point of agreement between the career of the person commemorated in that inscription and that of Maximus is the quaestorship of Pontus and Bithynia, the insufficiency of which as a basis for identification needs no stressing. Further, Pliny's silence about these ordinary provincial legateships is inexplicable if they preceded the appointment as *corrector*, while the absence of the Imperial commission from the inscription is unthinkable if they followed it.

Nor do the subsidiary arguments adduced by Viale appreciably strengthen his case. The excellent script and the "severe and classical" diction of the inscription are fully in harmony with the theory of a first-century date, while the reference to the *ala Germaniciana* actually favours it. The Latin fragment from Alexandria Troas, the home of the family of the Quintilii (Philostr., *Vit. Soph.*, II, 1, 11), is too mutilated to allow of any precise assignment and interpretation, though we may admit that the Sex. Quin—there mentioned is in all probability a member of that family.² As for the remaining plea,—with what senator could M. Sempronius [whose home must surely have been Attalea, where the monument was erected, and whose military service took him, apparently, to Pisidian Antioch] have had friendly relations better than with Sex. Quintilius [whose home was at Alexandria in the Troad]?—it is as hard to answer as it is impossible to accept as a serious argument.³

¹ Achaea was under Imperial rule from A.D. 15 to 44 (Tac., *Ann.*, I, 76; Dio, LX, 24; Suet., *Claud.*, 25); it was free from 67 (Dio, LXIII, 11; Suet., *Nero*, 24; *SIG*³, 814) until the revocation by Vespasian of Nero's grant of independence (Suet., *Vesp.*, 8; Paus., VII, 17).

² A. Reinach, *Rev. Ép.*, I, 317: "il est impossible de savoir auquel d'entre eux il faut attribuer ce nouveau fragment"; cf. Groag, *op. cit.*, 444, n. 65. Sex. Quintilius Valerius Maximus, son, or, according to Groag (see above, p. 339, n. 3), grandson of the *corrector*, was proconsul of Asia about 165 (*CIG*, 3831a⁸; cf. *PIR*, III, 118, No. 24; W. Hüttl, *Antoninus Pius*, II, 41).

³ My warm thanks are due to Professor H. M. Last for his kindness in reading my manuscript and making a number of valuable suggestions.

ATHEN UND KOLOPHON

von ADOLF WILHELM

GERNE schliesse ich mich den Fachgenossen an, die durch einen Beitrag zu dieser Sammelchrift William Hepburn Buckler die aufrichtigen Wünsche, mit denen sie seiner, und Mrs. Georgina Bucklers, anlässlich seines siebenzigsten Geburtstages gedacht haben, öffentlich wiederholen und die herzliche Hochschätzung bezeugen wollen, die sie ihm in Würdigung seiner hervorragenden wissenschaftlichen Leistungen und seiner seltenen persönlichen Eigenschaften entgegenbringen.

I

Die folgenden Ausführungen versuchen eine Anspielung, die sich in einem Beschlusse der Athener zu Ehren der Kolophonier in Bezug auf irgendwelche für diese erfreuliche und wichtige Begebnisse findet, aus einem überaus wertvollen Beschlusse der Kolophonier zu erhellen, der bei den amerikanischen Ausgrabungen in Kolophon zutage gekommen ist.

Den Beschluss der Athener zu Ehren der Kolophonier, IG, II², 470, aus dem Jahre des Archon Koroibos, 306/5 v. Chr., liest J. Kirchner :

a [Ἐ]πὶ Κο[ροΐβου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Δημη-] Στ. 29 B.
[τρ]ιάδο[s ἐβδόμης πρυτανείας ἥι Πάμ-]
[φ]ίλος Θε[εογείτονος Ῥαμνούσιος ἐγρ-]
[α]μμάτευ[εν· Γαμηλιῶνος ἔνι καὶ νέα-]
s [ι], ἐβδόμη[ι καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανε-]
[ία]s· ἐκκλ[ησία]

- b ε
 ὁ δῆμο[s]
 τ]οῦ δήμου
 . . . κα]ὶ τὴν εὐνο[ιαν διατελοῦσι ἔχο-]
 5 [ντε]ς πρὸς τὸν δῆ[μον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, κα-]
 [ὶ πρ]ότερόν τε ἐπὶ [τοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀ-]
 [γ]αθοῖς τοῖς τε οἰκ[είοις καὶ τῇ το-]
 ὕ δήμου σωτηρίαι [πρεσβείαν ἐξαποσ-]
 τείλαντες ἀνεν[εώσαντο τὴν ὑπάρχο-]
 10 υσαν αὐτοῖς οἰκ[ειότητα πρὸς τὸν δῆ-]
 [μ]ον τὸν Ἀθηναίω[ν καὶ νῦν πάλιν κατὰ]
 [τ]ὸν πόλεμον τὸ[ν γεγενημένον ἐπὶ Κά-]
 σσανδρον ἐψηφ[ίσαντο βοηθεῖν τῷ δ-]
 [ή]μωι καὶ ἀφεστ[άλκασιν]
 15 . ιαν ἑκατὸν μ[ύρια] τῷ δ-]
 [ή]μωι ἀποδεικν[ύμενοι τὴν φιλοτιμί-]
 [α]ν κατὰ τὴν ὑπά[ρχουσαν ἑαυτοῖς δύν-]
 [α]μιν, τύχηι ἀγ[αθῇ, δεδόχθαι τεῖ βου-]
 [λ]εῖ τοὺς προέ[δρους οἱ ἂν λάχωσι προ-]
 20 [εδ]ρεύειν ἐν τ[ῷ] δῆμωι εἰς τὴν πρώτη-]
 [ν] ἐκκλησίαν π[ροσαγαγεῖν τὸν πρεσβ-]
 [ευ]τὴν τῶν Κολ[οφωνίων πρὸς τὸν δῆμο-]
 [ν] καὶ χρηματί[σαι, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλ-]
 [ε]σθαι τῆς βουλ[ῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δ-]
 25 [οκ]εῖ τεῖ βουλῇ[ι ἐπαινέσαι τὴν πόλι-]
 [ν τ]ῶν Κ[ολοφωνίων] ὅτι διατελεῖ ἔχον-]
 [σα] εὐν[οι]αν [π]ρ[ὸς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηνα-]
 [ίων κ]αὶ

Andere Beschlüsse desselben Jahres stellte B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, VI, p. 131, zusammen; einen neuen hat soeben W. K. Pritchett, *AJP*, 1937, pp. 331 ff. durch Zusammensetzung der Steine IG, II², 675 und 525 gewonnen.

Einige Ergänzungen, mit denen Kirchner die ersten Zeilen des zweiten Bruchstückes ausgestattet hat, erwecken Bedenken. In Z. 4 fällt τὴν εὐνο[ιαν διατελοῦσι ἔχοντε]s auf. In Z. 6 ist τῶν πολιτῶν unmöglich, denn diese πολῖται müssten sowohl die Bürger von Kolophon wie die von Athen sein, wenn sich τοῖς τε οἰκείοις, nämlich ἀγαθοῖς, auf glückliche Begebnisse in Kolophon und καὶ

τῇ τοῦ δήμου σωτηρία auf die Wohlfahrt des Demos der Athener bezieht; in einem Beschlusse der Athener kann τοῦ δήμου schlechtweg nur von diesen gesagt sein; ohne Zusatz müsste aber auch τῶν πολιτῶν auf die Athener bezogen werden, so dass τοῖς τε οἰκείοις von ihren eigenen, sozusagen häuslichen, ἀγαθά gesagt sein würde, die selbst mit τῇ τοῦ δήμου σωτηρία verbunden die Kolophonier schwerlich zu der Absendung einer Gesandtschaft veranlassen konnten und jedenfalls nicht verdienten vor τῇ τοῦ δήμου σωτηρία als Anlass einer solchen Aufmerksamkeit erwähnt zu werden. Ist nach ἐπὶ [τοῖς (10 Buchstaben fehlen) ἀγ]αθοῖς deutlich zwischen τοῖς τε οἰκ[είοις und τῇ τοῦ δήμου σωτηρία geschieden, so wird in der Lücke ein Wort erwartet, das beiderlei ἀγαθά angeht und auf glückliche, in Kolophon und in Athen eingetretene Begebnisse weist, die den Demos der Kolophonier zu der Absendung einer Gesandtschaft an die Athener und zu der Erneuerung der bestehenden freundschaftlichen Beziehungen veranlasst hatten, also: ἐπὶ [τοῖς γενομένοις ἀγ]αθοῖς.

Ich schlage für die ersten Zeilen des zweiten Bruchstückes folgende Herstellung vor, die, wie ich ausdrücklich bemerke, in dem Anfange ganz unsicher bleibt, zumal ich nicht habe untersuchen können, ob die Beschaffenheit dieses und des ersten Bruchstückes erlaubt sie so nahe aneinander zu rücken als die Herstellung voraussetzt, wenn sie das in der ersten Zeile erhaltene Epsilon dem Worte εἶπεν zuteilt:

. εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ αἰεὶ ἀποδ-]
 [εἰκνυται] ὁ δῆμος[ς ὁ Κολοφωνίων ἀποι-]
 [κος ὦν τ]οῦ δήμου [τοῦ Ἀθηναίων τὴν φιλ-]
 [ίαν κα]ὶ τὴν εὐνο[ίαν ἣν διατηρεῖ ἐξ ἀ-]
 5 [ρχῇ]ς πρὸς τὸν δῆ[μον τὸν Ἀθηναίων κα-]
 [ὶ πρ]ότερόν τε ἐπὶ [τοῖς γενομένοις ἀ-]
 [γ]αθοῖς τοῖς τε οἰκ[είοις καὶ τῇ το-]
 ῦ δήμου σωτηρία [πρεσβείαν ἐξαποσ-]
 τείλαντες ἀνεν[εώσαντο κτλ.]

Ähnlich heisst es in einem anderen Beschlusse der Athener zu Ehren der Kolophonier, IG, II², 456, aus der fünften Prytanie des vorhergehenden Jahres des Archons Anaxikrates, 307/6 v. Chr., in Z. 7 ff. des ersten zweier Bruchstücke: ἐπειδὴ ἀποικιοῖς ὄντες

τοῦ δῆ[μου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων Κολοφώνιοι διατ]ηροῦσιν τὴν τε φι[λίαν καὶ οἰκειότητα τὴν εἰς τὸν δ]ῆμ[ον] τὸν Ἀθηναί[ων], und in Z. 13 ff. des zweiten Bruchstückes nach B. Leonardos' Lesung Παράρτ. Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 1917, σ. 67 ff. : ἐ[πειδὴ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς] ἄποικοι ὄντες τοῦ δῆ[μου αἰεὶ δια]τη[ροῦσι τὴν οἰκ]ειότητα τῇμ πρὸς τὸν δῆ[μον υ]π[ἀρ]χο[υσαν].

Auch in Z. 26 des zweiten Bruchstückes ist mir die Ergänzung : ὅτι διατελεῖ ἔχουσα] εὖν[οι]αν [π]ρ[ὸς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων] anstössig ; ich lese : ὅτι διατετῆρηκε τὴν] εὖν[οι]αν. Mit Rücksicht auf ἔχουσα hat Kirchner in Z. 25 ergänzt : ἐπαινέσαι τὴν πόλιν τ]ῶν Κ[ο]λοφωνί[ων], statt : τὸν δῆμον.

Aus Z. 6 ff. des zweiten Bruchstückes des Beschlusses IG, II², 470 geht hervor, dass die frühere Gesandtschaft der Kolophonier veranlasst war einerseits durch οἰκεῖα ἀγαθά, die den Kolophoniern zuteil geworden waren, andererseits durch ein glückliches Ereignis, das den Athenern und ihren Freunden als ἡ σωτηρία τοῦ δήμου galt : die Wiederherstellung der Demokratie nach dem Abzuge des Demetrios von Phaleron aus Athen, jetzt oft besprochen im Zusammenhang mit der schwierigen Chronologie des Jahres des Archons Anaxikrates. Der Beschluss, den die Athener in Anwesenheit dieser früheren Gesandtschaft der Kolophonier gefasst hatten, ist uns zu einem grossen Teile erhalten, IG, II², 456 ; er stammt, wie bereits erwähnt, aus der fünften Prytanie des Jahres, und noch aus der Zeit der zehn Phylen, wie die gesicherte, aber in den neueren Untersuchungen leider zumeist übersehene Ergänzung der Z. 15 f. des zweiten Bruchstückes des Beschlusses, von B. Leonardos, a.a.O., vorgelegt, zeigt : [ἐπιμελεῖσθαι] δ' αὐτῶν τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ[s : [π] : καὶ] το[ύς στρατηγοὺς κα]ὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχάς. Auf diese Ergänzung und die entscheidende Bedeutung, die der Bezeugung des Rates der Fünfhundert noch an dem letzten Tage des Monats Maimakterion für die Lösung der Fragen zukommt, die sich an das Jahr des Archons Anaxikrates knüpfen, habe ich in einem Vortrage in der Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν am 10. Juni 1937 hingewiesen, in dem ich darlegte, dass die beiden Bruchstücke IG, II², 716 und IG, II², 1226, auf Nachkommen des Königs Euagoras von Salamis bezüglich, zusammengehören und dass in Z. 4 des zweiten derselben : -ους ἐξακοσί[ους] das Zahlwort nicht, wie bisher angenommen wurde, auf Medimnen, sondern auf die Zahl der Ratsherren zu

beziehen ist, denen, wie in dem Beschlusse IG, II², 456 und in zahlreichen anderen Beschlüssen, die Fürsorge für die Geehrten anbefohlen wird. Nun hat auch W. K. Pritchett, *AJP*, 1937, p. 220, in seiner "Note on the Attic Year 307/6 B.C." die richtige Ergänzung der Z. 15 f. des zweiten Bruchstückes des Beschlusses IG, II², 456 vorgeschlagen, ohne zu beachten, dass sie schon von Leonardos gefunden war.

Von der Begründung des Beschlusses, IG, II², 456, ist leider viel verloren. Von ihrem Anfang liegt auf dem ersten Bruchstücke der S. 345 ausgeschriebene Satz vor; die Reste der folgenden fünf Zeilen gestatten keine Vermutung über den Inhalt der Sätze, denen sie angehören. Das zweite Bruchstück erwähnt die für das Wohl des Demos der Athener und für das Wohl der Kolophonier von den Gesandten dargebrachten Opfer und ordnet an, bei den Panathenäen zu verkünden, dass der Demos der Kolophonier der Athena einen Kranz und eine Panhoplie weihe; dann wird die Belobung und Bekränzung des Demos der Kolophonier und seiner Gesandten ausgesprochen, den Kolophoniern Fürsorge der Behörden und Zutritt zu Rat und Volk *πρώτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά* zugesichert sowie, gegebenenfalls, *καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθόν, εἰάν τις* [δέωνται]; die Gesandten werden *ἐπὶ δεῖπνον* eingeladen; es folgen die herkömmlichen Bestimmungen über die Aufzeichnung auf einer Stele und schliesslich eine Anordnung bezüglich Zuweisung eines Ehrenplatzes *εἰς τὰ Διονύσια τὰ Πειραικά*. Ob und wie in dem fehlenden Teile der Begründung von den *οἰκεία ἀγαθὰ* der Kolophonier als Gegenstand der Mitteilungen die Rede war, mit denen die Gesandten vor Rat und Volksversammlung auftraten, muss dahingestellt bleiben; dass sie irgendwie zur Sprache gekommen sein müssen, lehrt, wenigstens nach meiner Ergänzung, der spätere Beschluss IG, II², 470, vielleicht wie IG, II², 456, von *Στρατοκλῆς Εὐθυδήμου Διομεεὺς* beantragt; es verdient Beachtung, dass er in jener Zeit gerade in Angelegenheiten der Kolophonier und der Priener (*SEG*, III, 19, n. 86), die beide als *ἄποικοι* der Athener galten, als Antragsteller aufgetreten ist.

Die Begebnisse in Kolophon und Athen, auf die der Beschluss IG, II², 470, mit den Worten: *πρότερόν τε ἐπὶ [τοῖς γενομένοις ἀγ]αθοῖς τοῖς τε οἰκ[είοις καὶ τῇ το]ῦ δήμου σωτηρίαι* als Anlass einer von den Kolophoniern *πρότερον* nach Athen gesendeten

Gesandtschaft Bezug nimmt, wird man zunächst als ungefähr gleichzeitig zu betrachten geneigt, sein; die Begebnisse in Kolophon würden dem in Anwesenheit dieser früheren Gesandtschaft am letzten Tage des Monats Maimakterion in der fünften Prytanie des Jahres des Archons Anaxikrates gefassten Beschlüsse IG, II² 456 ungefähr ebenso vorausliegen wie die zu Anfang dieses Jahres erfolgte Befreiung Athens, oder wenig früher fallen; doch darf nicht übersehen werden, dass besondere Verhältnisse die Wiederaufnahme der zwischen Kolophon und Athen von Altersher bestehenden Beziehungen nach einem für Kolophon erfreulichen Anlasse verzögern konnten; solche Verhältnisse waren in der Tat dadurch gegeben, dass Athen bis zum Sommer des Jahres 307 v. Chr. unter der Herrschaft des Demetrios von Phaleron stand. Unter allen Umständen handelt es sich um Begebnisse, die für die Kolophonier ähnliche Bedeutung besaßen wie für die Athener die Vertreibung des Demetrios von Phaleron und die Wiederherstellung der Demokratie. Welcherlei Begebnisse gemeint sind, erlaubt ein schöner Fund der amerikanischen Ausgrabungen in Kolophon zu vermuten, die grosse von B. D. Meritt, *AJP*, 1935, pp. 358 ff., veröffentlichte Inschrift, die einen Beschluss über die Einverleibung der παλαιὰ πόλις in den Mauerring der Neustadt und ein umfangreiches Verzeichnis der für diesen Zweck von Bürgern und Nichtbürgern gezeichneten Summen enthält. Entgegen der Meinung des Herausgebers, der diesen Beschluss in den Sommer oder Herbst des Jahres 334 v. Chr. setzen wollte, weil er Z. 6 sagt: ἐπειδὴ παρέδωκεν αὐτῷ (nämlich dem Demos) Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ Ἀντίγονος, hat ihn L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.*, 1936, pp. 158 ff., mit Recht in die Jahre 311 bis 306 v. Chr. verwiesen; auch ich war aus den Gründen, die er geltend macht, und in Erinnerung an die zwei Beschlüsse der Athener IG, II², 456 und 470, die er nicht heranzieht, sogleich auf dieselbe Zeitbestimmung verfallen. In der Tat scheint mit den οἰκεία ἀγαθά, auf die der zweite dieser Beschlüsse als Anlass der früheren Gesandtschaft der Kolophonier hinweist, die Bestätigung der ihnen durch König Alexandros verliehenen Freiheit durch Antigonos und ebenso, wenn nicht noch mehr, die im Zusammenhang mit ihr durchgeführte Vergrößerung ihrer Stadt gemeint zu sein, von der uns die grosse neue Inschrift berichtet. Miletos hat, wie die Inschrift

aus dem Delphinion, S. 258 ff., Nr. 123, Z. 2 ff., lehrt: Ἰππόμαχος Θήρωνος· ἐπὶ τούτου ἡ πόλις ἐλευθέρα καὶ αὐτόνομος ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία ἀπεδόθη, im Jahre 313/2 v. Chr. von Antigonos die "Freiheit" (s. E. Bickermann, *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, 1934, pp. 346 ff.) erhalten und die Demokratie wiederhergestellt; es liegt nahe anzunehmen, dass Antigonos zu ungefähr derselben Zeit Kolophon die Freiheit gegeben oder vielmehr bestätigt habe, und nimmt nicht Wunder, dass die Kolophonier erst nach der Befreiung Athens Gelegenheit fanden, durch die Gesandtschaft, die die Athener dieser wegen zu beglückwünschen hatte, auch auf ihre οἰκεῖα ἀγαθά als Anlass zu gemeinsamer Freude zu verweisen. Ist die Vergrößerung der Stadt Kolophon, wie angenommen werden darf, auf Antigonos' Empfehlung und mit seiner Unterstützung erfolgt, so vergleicht sich dieses sein Eingreifen in ihre Geschicke seinen Bemühungen um die nahen Städte Teos und Lebedos, die uns durch das von mir, *Klio*, XXVIII, 230 ff., besprochene Schreiben des Königs, *LW*, 86 (*Sylloge*², 344), bekannt sind; vgl. zu diesem die Bemerkungen L. Roberts, *a.a.O.*, p. 158, und L. Wengers, Ἱστορικαὶ παρατηρήσεις ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπαγορεύσεως τοῦ τόκου *ultra alterum tantum*, Ἀρχεῖον Ἰδιωτικοῦ Δικαίου, Ε' (1938), σ. 11. Dass die ein weites Gebiet umschliessenden Mauern von Kolophon in ihrer Bauweise an Lysimachos' Mauern in Ephesos erinnern, haben C. Schuchhardt und P. Wolters, *Ath. Mitt.*, XI, 398 ff. (vgl. L. Büchner, *RE*, XI, 1114 ff.), festgestellt; Näheres über die Befestigung und die ganze Stadt darf man durch Berichte der amerikanischen Fachgenossen zu erfahren hoffen.

Zu ἐπὶ [τοῖς γενομένοις ἀγ]αθοῖς sei noch bemerkt, dass die Kolophonier in ihrem Beschlusse, Z. 16 f., geloben, fünf namentlich angeführten vornehmsten Göttern der Stadt, Ζεὺς Σωτήρ usw., καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσιν οἱ κατέχουσιν ἡμῶν τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν (diese bekannte Formel ist auch in den Beschlüssen *IG*, II², 1032, Z. 10, und *Hesperia*, IV, 73, n. 37, Z. 24, zu ergänzen) ἐπιτελῶν γενομένων τῶν ἀγαθῶν πρόσδοον ποιήσεσθαι καὶ θυσίαν καθ' ὃ τι ἂν τῷ δήμῳ δόξῃ; mit dieser Wendung: ἐπιτελῶν γενομένων τῶν ἀγαθῶν vergleiche ich in der vielbesprochenen Weihinschrift der Xenokrateia *IG*, II², 4548, Z. 6: ἐπιτελεστῶν ἀγαθῶν und in dem Vertrage der Rhodier und der Hierapytnier *Sylloge*³, 581, Z. 5 ff.: εὐξασθαι μὲν τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ

τοὺς ἱεροθύτας τῷ Ἀλίῳ καὶ τῇ Ῥόδῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαγέταις καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσι ὅσοι ἔχοντι τὰν πόλιν καὶ τὰν χώραν τὰν Ῥοδίῳ συνενεγκεῖν Ῥοδίοις καὶ Ἱεραπυρνίοις τὰ δόξαντα περὶ τᾶς συμμαχίας, ἐπιτελέων δὲ τὰν εὐχὰν γενομενᾶν θυσίαν καὶ πόθοδον ποιήσασθαι καθά κα δόξῃ τῷ δάμῳ. Endlich darf mit τοῖς . . . ἀγ]αθοῖς τοῖς τε οἰκείοις verglichen werden, von dem Wohlstand der Bürger und dem Glücke eines Gemeinwesens gesagt, in dem Beschlusse Ἀντιοχέων τῶν Περσικῶν, *Inschriften von Magnesia* Nr. 61 (OGI 233), Z. 48 : ἐπαινέσαι μὲν Μάγνητας κτλ. καὶ διότι τοῖς ἰδίῳις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ τῇ εὐημερίᾳ τῆς πόλεως καλῶς χρώμενοι διαφυλάσσουσιν τῇμ πάτριον πολιτείαν.

II

Nicht wenige Bemerkungen, die ich zu den neuen, von B. D. Meritt, *AJP*, 1935, pp. 258 ff., mit knappsten Erläuterungen vorgelegten, in dem Heiligtume der Meter gefundenen Beschlüssen aus Kolophon vorzutragen gedachte, sind bereits durch L. Roberts Abhandlung, *Rev. Phil.*, 1936, pp. 158 ff., vorweggenommen, vor allem die Berichtigung der irrigen Andeutungen Ch. Picards, *Éphèse et Claros*, p. 635, bezüglich des wichtigsten dieser Beschlüsse, der nicht einer durch die Entfernung ausgeschlossenen Vereinigung der Nordstadt und der Südstadt (Νότιον) in einem Mauerringe, sondern der Einbeziehung und Neuanlage der verfallenen und verlassenen alten Stadt (παλαιὰ πόλις) Kolophon gilt. Eine erschöpfende Besprechung dieses Beschlusses liegt nicht in meiner Absicht, gleichwohl glaubte ich Einzelheiten, die mir in ihm beachtenswert erscheinen, bei dem Anlasse, der mir durch die Beschäftigung mit den beiden den Kolophonern geltenden Beschlüssen der Athener IG, II², 470 und 456 geboten ist, in Kürze erörtern und einige Beobachtungen zu den anderen Beschlüssen beifügen zu sollen; auch schien es angebracht, da Meritts Veröffentlichung nicht jedermann zur Hand sein dürfte, einige allgemeine Bemerkungen voranzuschicken. Obgleich ich selbstverständlich bemüht war schon Gesagtes nicht zu wiederholen, war nicht zu vermeiden, dass sich ein Teil meiner Ausführungen mit denen Meritts und L. Roberts berührt.

Die amerikanischen Ausgrabungen in Kolophon haben in den

Jahren 1922 und 1925 stattgefunden ; leider ist infolge der beklagenswerten Ereignisse, deren Schauplatz das westliche Kleinasien in dem ersten dieser Jahre bald nach Abschluss der Ausgrabungen geworden ist, ein Teil der in dem Heiligtume der Meter zutage gekommenen Inschriften verloren gegangen oder beschädigt worden. Es verdient unter den Umständen, über die Meritt berichtet, besonderen Dank, dass der namentlich durch seine Arbeiten über attische Inschriften und als Herausgeber der griechischen Inschriften aus den amerikanischen Ausgrabungen in Korinth rühmlichst bekannte Forscher sich der Aufgabe unterzogen hat, mit Hilfe der vorliegenden Aufzeichnungen und der Aufnahmen, die Jotham Johnson in Smyrna von den glücklicher Weise in dem dortigen Museum geborgenen Bruchstücken der zwei wichtigsten Urkunden machen konnte, die gefundenen Inschriften zu veröffentlichen : "not with the purpose of giving an exhaustive commentary on the documents, but primarily so that the texts themselves might be available to the public without further delay."

1. Einen Fund allerersten Ranges stellt vermöge ihrer vielfachen Bedeutung und ihres Umfanges die bereits S. 350 erwähnte Urkunde, pp. 359 ff., n. 1, dar, die auf drei Steinen in acht Spalten eingezeichnet nach Jotham Johnsons und des Herausgebers Berechnung nicht weniger als 958 Zeilen umfasste ; erhalten sind, im Abdruck zehn Seiten der Zeitschrift füllend, die ersten 38 Zeilen eines Beschlusses und beträchtliche Teile eines Verzeichnisses von Beiträgen. Der Demos beschliesst Z. 6 ff. : *ἐπειδὴ παρέδωκεν αὐτῶι Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ Ἀντίγονος* (oben S. 350), *κτλ. : τὴμ παλαιὰμ πόλιν ἣν τῶν θεῶν παραδόντων τοῖς πρόγονοις ἡμῶν κτίσαντες ἐκείνοι καὶ ναοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς ἰδρυσάμενοι παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἦσαν ἔνδοξοι σ[υ]ντείχισαι πρὸς τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν*, und trifft zu diesem Zwecke eine Reihe von Massnahmen, vor allem (Z. 28 ff.) hinsichtlich der Einhebung freiwilliger Beiträge der Bürger zu den Kosten der Befestigung : *ἵνα δὲ καὶ οἱ πολῖται χρήματα εἰσάρῳσιν ὡς πλεῖστα εἰς τὰ τεῖχη* ; so ungerne ich von einer von Meritt und auch von L. Robert, p. 162, n. 2, gebilligten Lesung abgehe, kann ich mich des Verdachtes doch nicht erwehren, dass *εἰσάρῳσιν* verlesen ist statt *εἰσφέρῳσιν*, vgl. in dem zweiten Beschlusse der Kolophonier, pp. 372 ff., Z. 76 : *τοὺς νῦν εἰσφέροντας*. Übrigens rechneten die Kolophonier mit der Aufbringung

eines Teiles der Kosten des Mauerbaues durch den Verkauf der Hausplätze der neuanzulegenden Stadt, Z. 25 : καὶ ὅπως αἱ τε ὁδοὶ καὶ τὰ οἰκόπεδα κατατμηθήσεται τε καὶ πραθήσεται συμφερόντως ; daher heisst es Z. 28 : ἵνα δὲ καὶ οἱ πολῖται χρήματα εἰσ<φε>ρῶσιν κτλ. ; zudem erhielten die gewählten zehn Männer Z. 25 auch den Auftrag dafür zu sorgen ὅπως χρήματα ξενικὰ πορισθῇ. Auch ein anderer Satz des Beschlusses scheint mir an zwei Stellen nicht in Ordnung, Z. 21 : ἀποδείξαι δὲ ἄνδρας δέκα καὶ δὴ οἵτινες σκέφονται τὰ τε τεῖχη κατὰ ποῖον ἀχθέντα καὶ προσβληθέντα πρὸς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα εἶη ἐχυρώτατα. Zwar kehrt καὶ δὴ in Z. 30 wieder : ὑποδέχεσθαι τῶν π[ο]λιτῶν τὸν βουλόμενον ὅσον ἂν ἕκαστος θέλῃ, καὶ δὴ τοῖς δὲ ἀποδήμο[ι]ς εἶναι τὴν ὑπόδεξιν, ὅταν θέλωσι, doch scheint καὶ δὴ vor οἵτινες nicht am Platze. Ich erwarte wie in entsprechenden Anordnungen anderer Beschlüsse in dem Satze nicht δὴ sondern ἤδη, vgl. z.B., IG, II², 672, Z. 36, 682 (Sylloge³, 409), Z. 84, 1258, Z. 13, 1330, Z. 58 ; IG, II², 646, Z. 40 ist nicht : χειροτονῆσαι δ[ὲ] καὶ τὸν δῆμον τ]ρεῖς ἄνδρας zu ergänzen sondern : τὸν δῆμον ἤδη. Auch in dem Beschlusse der Kolophonier ist καὶ nach δέκα ἄνδρας vor δὴ überflüssig ; ist nicht die letzte Silbe des vorangehenden Wortes δέκα irrig wiederholt und aus δέκα[κα] ἤδη geworden δέκα καὶ δὴ ? Noch einfacher würde sich καὶ δὴ statt ἤδη erklären, dürfte in der Vorlage mit abkürzender Schreibung des καί, Kappa mit einem zugesetzten Striche, gerechnet werden, denn Kappa und Heta, mit gekrümmtem, lose verbundenem dritten Striche, werden, wie ich zu einer Inschrift aus Olbia, IPE, I², 40, Z. 45, zeigen werde, auch sonst gelegentlich verwechselt. Statt κατὰ ποῖον glaube ich κατὰ ποῖον τρόπον vermuten zu sollen, vgl. κατὰ πάντα τρόπον Z. 7.

Unter der Überschrift : Κατὰ τὰδε ὑπεδέξαντο εἰς τὰ τεῖχη folgt das Verzeichnis der zahlreichen und zum Teile sehr ansehnlichen Beiträge, welche die Bürger der Stadt, sechs Bürger anderer Städte, zwei Makedonen (Z. 139 f. und Z. 148 ff.) und einzelne Metoiken (Z. 372, 381 f., 498, 505, 550 f., 625, 626, 628, 741 f., 751, 843, 886) für den Bau der Stadtmauer gezeichnet haben. Da irgendwelche auf die Bedingungen der Zeichnung bezügliche Bemerkungen in diesem Verzeichnisse mit Ausnahme des einmal begegnenden Zusatzes ἄτοκα in Z. 157 fehlen, wird κατὰ τὰδε, das ja nicht wohl auf die in dem vorangehenden Beschlusse festgelegten

Bedingungen zurückweisen kann, lediglich die Sonderungen angehen, die uns in dem Verzeichnisse durch einige erhaltene Überschriften kenntlich werden; ähnlich sind in der Urkunde der Anleihe der Milesier bei den Knidiern, *Delphinion*, S. 294 ff., Nr. 138, unter der Überschrift, Z. 68: Οἷδε ἐδάνεισαν Κνιδίων Μιλησίοις ἀργυρίου Ῥοδίου vierzehn Geldgeber verzeichnet, die von 2000 bis 12000 Drachmen liehen, mit dem Zusatze Z. 81: οὗτοι ἐδάνεισαν τρία ἔτη· ἄρχει τοῦ δανείου μεῖς Ἀρτεμισίων ἐπ' Ἀλεξίππου· τόκος τῆς μνᾶς ἐκάστης ἐκάστου μηνὸς τρεῖς ὀβολοί, dann unter der Überschrift Z. 83: [Οἷ]δε ἄτοκον ἐδάνεισαν ἐνιαυτόν vier Geldgeber, die zwei- bis sechstausend Drachmen liehen; am Schlusse steht die Gesamtsumme der geliehenen Gelder. In dem Verzeichnisse der Geldgeber aus Kolophon stehen an ersten Stelle die Beiträge τῶν δέκα τῶν γραφameνων τὸ ψήφισμα, von denen οἱ μὲν ἐννέα gaben: δραχμὰς ἐνακισχιλίας ἐχξακοσίας τριήκοντα, also durchschnittlich jeder 1070 Drachmen, der zehnte 370. Sodann zeichneten ein Μακεδών 1500, ein Bürger 1000, ein Ἀβδηρίτης 600, ein Ἀμφιπολίτης und ein Bürger je 300, ein Μαρωνίτης 200, ein Πιτανάιος und ein Ἡρακλεώτης je 100 χρυσοῦς, ein Μιλήσιος 300 χρυσοῦς und ἀργυρίου συμμαχικοῦ δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας, ein Bürger 1000 χρυσοῦς ἄτοκα (s. L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.*, 1927, p. 128, und wegen des Neutrums E. Mayser, *Gr. d. gr. Pap.*, II, 3, S. 21), ein Makedone 10,000 Drachmen Ἀλεξανδρεῖο[us] (so L. Robert, p. 162) oder Ἀλεξανδρεῖο(υ), nämlich ἀργυρίου, wie in Z. 153: ἀργυρίου συμμαχικοῦ δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας; auch *Inscriptions de Délos, Décrets postérieurs à 166 av. J.-C.*, p. 250, n. 2165-2172 wechselt Ἀττικοῦ und Ἀττικός, nämlich δραχμὰς. Zweimal, Z. 155 ff. und Z. 158 ff., folgt den Überschriften: τῶνδε ἕκαστος δραχμὰς τρισμυρίας und: τῶνδε ἕκαστος δραχμὰς μυρίας δισχιλίας nur je ein Name eines Bürgers, vgl. IG, VII, 4263 (*Sylloge*³, 544), Z. 30. Weiterhin sind die verzeichnet, die Beiträge von je vierhundert Z. 259 ff., von je dreihundert Z. 266 ff., und von je zweihundert Z. 291 ff. Drachmen gezeichnet haben; von den vielen, deren Namen die Zeilen 367 ff., füllen, wird—leider fehlen auf den erhaltenen Bruchstücken die Überschriften—anzunehmen sein, dass sie sich mit geringeren Summen beteiligten. Für den auch durch Nachrichten der Schriftsteller bekannten ausserordentlichen Wohlstand und für die Leistungsfähigkeit und Opferwilligkeit der

Kolophonier zeugen diese Summen, die der Stadt, wie der anscheinend eine Ausnahme bezeichnende Zusatz *ἄτοκα*, Z. 157, lehrt, für den Zweck des Mauerbaues gegen Zinsen vorgestreckt wurden; unter welchen Bedingungen, bleibt uns unbekannt, da nach den 38 Zeilen, die uns von dem Beschlusse erhalten sind, nicht weniger als 84 vor der Überschrift: *Κατὰ τὰδε ὑπεδέξαντο εἰς τὰ τεῖχη* verloren sind. Doch ist wenigstens eine auf die Einzahlung der gezeichneten Beträge bezügliche Bestimmung Z. 35 erhalten; den dritten Teil des gezeichneten Betrages hat der Zeichner bei der Vergebung des Mauerbaues einzuzahlen: *τοῦ δὲ ἀργυρίου ὅσον ἂν ὑποδέξωνται* [διδ]όναι αὐτούς, ὅταν τὰ ἔργα πραθῇ τῶν τειχῶν, τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἕκαστον, οὗ ἂν [ὑποδ]έξηται, παρ' αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν καρπολόγων, τὸν δὲ καρπολόγον λαμβάνοντα [τὸ ἀργύ]ριον διδόναι τοῖς ἐργῶναις. Leider entziehen sich die folgenden Worte, mit denen die erste Spalte des ersten Steines schliesst: *τὰς τιμὰς* *ον τὸ τ[ρί]τομ μέρος εκα-* sicherer Ergänzung; hat der *καρπολόγος* an jeden der *ἐργῶναι* eine erste Zahlung bei der Zuteilung seines *ἔργον* in der Höhe eines Drittels der für dieses vereinbarten Summe zu leisten? Ist *τὰς τιμὰς* und *ον* vor *τό* richtig gelesen? Liegt es nicht nahe: *τ(ῆ)ς τιμ(ῆ)ς* [τῶν ἔργ](<ω>)ν oder: [τοῦ ἔργ](<υ>) *τὸ τ[ρί]τομ μέρος ἐκά[στ]-* zu vermuten? Betreffs der Zahlungen an die *ἐργῶναι* verweise ich auf den Beschluss der Halikarnassier über die Beschaffung von Mitteln für den Bau einer dem Apollon und König Ptolemaios zu errichtenden Halle durch *προδανεισταί*, die dem Demos *ἄτοκα χρήματα* vorstrecken, OGI 46, Z. 1: *Κ[α]λλικλῆν το[ῖς τα]μίαις, οἱ δὲ τ[α]μίαι δότω[σαν] παραχρήμα τοῖς ἐπι[με]ληταῖς, οἱ δὲ ἐπ[ιμελ]ηταὶ δότωσαν τοῖς ἐ[ργ]ῶναις*, und auf einen anderen Beschluss über die Wiederherstellung eines Gymnasions, *Jahreshefte*, XI, 56, Z. 40: *[οἱ ταμίαι δόντω]ν τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐργω[νίαν]*; betreffs der *τιμαί* der *ἔργα* auf die Rechnung über den Bau des Tempels von Didyma SEG, II, p. 105 n. 568, Z. 4: *[ἀπολογισμὸς τῶ]ν γεγονότων ἔργων κτλ. [καθότι τέθεικαν οἱ ἐγ]λογισταὶ τὰς τιμογραφίας ἐκάστου [τῶν ἔργων κατὰ τὸν ἀνενηνεγμ]ένου ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ νεωποιεῖον ἐγλο[γισμόν]*.

2. Wertvollste Aufklärung über die Durchführung dieser Anleihe würde ein zweiter Beschluss, von dem sechs Bruchstücke vorliegen, gewähren, wäre er nur vollständiger erhalten. Dieser Beschluss, pp. 372 ff., n. 11, ebenfalls "from the latter part of the

fourth century," "deals," wie der Herausgeber mit Recht sagt, "with the same general subject as no. 1." Er bezieht sich nach A, Z. 2 auf Massnahmen: [εἰς φυλακὴν (so würde ich ergänzen)] καὶ σωτηρίαν Κολοφωνίων, vgl. *Rev. Phil.*, 1937, p. 332, n. 7, Z. 4: τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε ἀφῆκειν εἰς φυλακὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῦ δήμου, BCH, 1935, p. 493, und trifft Bestimmungen in Sachen des Mauerbaues, B, Z. 12: τειχῶν τῆς αὐτῶν, Z. 74: τρ]ιάκοντα τάλαντα εἰς τὴν [ἐκποίησι]ν τῶν τειχῶν ὀπογράφεσθαι αὐτούς; ich erwarte, wenn die Lücke dieses Wort erlaubt: [οἰκοδομία]ν, wie in den Inschriften aus Ephesos *Jahreshefte*, XVI, 236 f., III c, Z. 4: περὶ τὴν τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίαν und aus Chios *Ἀθηνᾶ* XX, 6, 163 ff. (BCH, 1913, p. 211), A¹, Z. 4, von einer Schenkung des Attalos: εἰς τὴν τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίαν, oder auch [οἰκοδομή]ν (vgl. E. Mayser, *Gr. d. gr. Pap.*, I², 3, S. 19); zwei andere Inschriften aus Chios, von Jeanne Vanseveren, *Rev. Phil.*, 1937, pp. 321 ff., nn. 4, 5, veröffentlicht, verzeichnen Gaben der Chier εἰς τὴν ὀχύρωσιν τῶν τειχῶν, vgl. IG, II², 835 (mit meinen Bemerkungen *Πραγματεῖαι Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, Δ' 1, S. 30 ff.), Z. 10: [εἰς τὴν ὀχύ]ρωσιν τοῦ ἐν Ζέαι λιμένος. Zu ἀπογράφεσθαι vgl. IG, II², 791 (*Sylloge*,³ 491), Z. 15: τοὺς βουλομένους τῶ[ν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλ]ων τῶν οἰκούντων ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπιδιδό[ναι εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν] τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας ἐ[παγγείλασθαι εἰς β]ουλῇ ἢ πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀπογράψα[σθαι ἐντὸς μηνὸς Μο]νιχιῶνος.

Leider weisen nur die Zeilen 73 bis 88 des letzten Bruchstückes F eine grössere Zahl von Buchstaben, bis zu 67, auf, doch lässt sich keine einzige Zeile mit einer anderen durch wahrscheinliche Ergänzungen verbinden; vollends sind die Zeilen der übrigen Bruchstücke von bedauerlichster Kürze; unter diesen Umständen würde die notwendig umständliche Erörterung möglicher Zusammenhänge das Verständnis schwerlich erheblich fördern; ich nehme daher von einer Besprechung aller Teile der Urkunde Abstand und gehe nur auf einige besonders bedeutsame Stellen ein. Leider ist selbst der Sinn eines Satzes, der so wichtige Angaben enthält wie Z. 84: κ]ηρυξάμενοι δανείσουσιν τάλαντα τριάκοντα καὶ ὅσωι πλείω δεῖ κατότι ἐψήφισ[ται] (so eher als ἐψήφισ[το], vgl. *Sylloge*³, 107, Z. 43, 699, Z. 12, oder: ἐψηφίσ[ατο ὁ δῆμος], vgl. *Sylloge*³, 64, Z. 41, 317, Z. 36) nicht völlig zu erfassen, weil das Subjekt zu κηρυξάμενοι, oder wohl: ἀποκ]ηρυξάμενοι, δανείσουσιν (kaum

Dativ des Partizipiums, vielmehr Indikativ des Futurums) unbekannt bleibt; wahrscheinlich ist von dem öffentlichen Verkaufe irgendwelchen Besitztums die Rede (vgl. IG, II², 1104, Z. 8, unten S. 360: ἀποδόσθωσαν οἱ ἀργυροταμίαι μετὰ τοῦ κήρυκος τὰς ὑποθήκας) und von der durch ihn ermöglichten Leistung eines Beitrages in der Höhe von dreissig oder, wenn nötig, noch mehr Talenten. Ob diese dreissig Talente, die auch in dem schon angeführten Satze Z. 74 erwähnt sind, mit einem möglichen Mehrerfordernisse die gesamten Kosten des Mauerbaues darstellen oder nicht vielmehr nur einen Teil derselben, dessen Aufbringung Gegenstand der vorliegenden Anordnungen ist, wird unter Berücksichtigung der Berichte und Urkunden über ähnliche Bauten weiterer Erwägung bedürfen, zumal auch der erste Beschluss, pp. 361 ff., nicht vollständig erhalten ist und seine Bestimmungen betreffend die Durchführung der grosse Anleihe, mit Z. 35 beginnend, fast zur Gänze verloren sind; fehlen doch, wie bereits erwähnt, vor dem Verzeichnisse der Beiträge ungefähr 84 Zeilen.

Dass in Angelegenheit eines so bedeutenden Unternehmens, wie es die Einbeziehung der alten Stadt Kolophon in den Mauer-ring und ihr Neubau war, auch hinsichtlich der Beschaffung der nötigen Geldmittel, mehr als ein Beschluss erforderlich war, ist nicht verwunderlich. Der zweite Beschluss, pp. 372 ff., nimmt jedenfalls in Z. 8 auf einen früheren Bezug: -ν πρὸς δάνειον κατὰ ψήφισμα ὃ εἶπε Πυθογένης ἐπὶ Δημητρίου μηνὸς Κρονιῶνος; nebenbei, wird es zu kühn sein, die Frage aufzuwerfen, ob dieser eponyme Jahresbeamte nicht der Sohn des Antigonos ist? In Miletos ist der Eponymos des Jahres 295/94 v. Chr. laut dem Verzeichnisse Οἶδε μολπῶν ἡσύμνησαν, *Delphinion*, S. 258 ff., Nr. 123 (s. Jeanne Vanseveren, *Rev. Phil.*, 1937, pp. 944 ff.) Z. 22: Δημήτριος Ἀντιγόνου, nachdem die Stadt bis zu seiner Landung im Jahre 297 im Besitze des Lysimachos gewesen war; vgl. A. Rehm, S. 261. Freilich ist der Name Demetrios verbreitet, und in dem Verzeichnis der Spender für den Mauerbau begegnen, wie Meritts Index, p. 388 lehrt, nicht weniger als elf Kolophonier dieses Namens, doch scheinen sie alle, mit Ausnahme eines einzigen, der dreihundert Drachmen gezeichnet hat (Z. 278), nur bescheidenere Beiträge geleistet und nicht zu den ersten Männern der Stadt gehört zu haben. Wird in dem zweiten Beschlusse von derzeitigen εἰσφοραὶ gespro-

chen, Z. 75 : τοῖς δὲ ἀ[π]ογραφамένοις ἀποδοῦναι ἕκ τε τῶν οἰκοπέδων, Z. 76 : -τοῖς (allenfalls: ὁ, oder: ἃ, δ' ἂν τοῦ]τοῖς, nämlich τοῖς ἀπογραφамένοις) ἔτι προσοφείλῃται, ἀποδοῦναι αὐτοῖς τοὺς νῦν εἰσφέροντας κατὰ τὸ τρί[τον μέρος — da für die angeordneten Rückzahlungen an die ἀπογραφамένοι möglicher Weise die Erträgnisse aus den οἰκόπεδα und andere heranzuziehende Einkünfte nicht ausreichen, sollen οἱ νῦν εἰσφέροντες für die Rückstände wenigstens zu einem Drittel aufkommen —, so handelt es sich vielleicht um die Einzahlung fälliger Teilbeträge seitens der Zeichner der Anleihe, die Gegenstand des ersten Beschlusses ist, nicht notwendig um Einzahlungen einer neuerlichen Anleihe. Von Gewährung eines Darlehens ist wiederholt die Rede, Z. 13 : δανεισάντων, Z. 37 von einem zusätzlich geliehenen Betrage : καὶ τὸ ἐπιδανεισθέν, Z. 38 : το]ὺς δανείζοντας und Z. 56 : δ]ανειζον[τ-, Z. 64 doch wohl : οἷτινες ἂν ἐπαγγέλ[λ?]ωνται δανείσειν τὰ χ[ρήματα, Z. 68 : ἐ]άν τις τῶν δανειζόντων, Z. 85 : τοῖ]ς δανείσασιν τὸ δάνειον καὶ τοὺς τόκους ὑπολύεσθαι τὰ ὑποτεθέντα. Diese Bestimmung scheint Meritt nicht richtig verstanden zu haben, wenn er p. 377 übersetzt : “ — and also, for those who have made the loan, to free the mortgaged properties from interest charges.” Unzweifelhaft gehören τὸ δάνειον καὶ τοὺς τόκους zusammen, vgl. z. B., IG, XII, 7, 63 und 64, wo wiederholt τὸ δάνειον πᾶν καὶ τὸν τόκον oder τοὺς τόκους begegnet ; der Sinn der Bestimmung kann nur sein, dass den Kolophonern, wenn sie τοῖς δανείσασιν zurückgegeben haben τὸ δάνειον καὶ τοὺς τόκους — ist etwa zu ergänzen : [ἀποδοῦσι δὲ Κολοφωνίοις τοῖ]ς δανείσασιν τὸ δάνειον καὶ τοὺς τόκους ? — die ὑποθήματα aus der Pfandschaft befreit werden. Das Verbum ὑπολύεσθαι erweckt Bedenken ; in der an der Stelle erfordernten Bedeutung ist es, wie es scheint, nicht nachzuweisen. Ich vermute, dass ὑπολύεσθαι von dem Steinmetzen oder dem Schreiber seiner Vorlage unter dem Einflusse des zweiten der anschliessenden Worte : τὰ ὑποτεθέντα verschrieben ist statt : ἀπολύεσθαι, falls es sich nicht um einen durch denselben Umstand bedingten Fehler der Abschrift handelt ; übrigens liegt dieses Bruchstück der Urkunde in dem Museum zu Smyrna. Für ἀπολύεσθαι verweise ich auf POxy., 1102 (146 n. Chr.), “ a report of a judgement delivered by a hypomnematographus, Cerealis,” Z. 18 : Εὐδαίμονος διὰ τῶν παρεστώτων λέγοντος κατεσχῆσθαι αὐτοῦ τὰς προσόδους

καὶ ἀξιόσαντος ἀπολυθῆναι αὐτάς, ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ὑπομνηματογράφος· ἐπὰν τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κελευσθέν[τ]α γένηται καὶ ἡ πόλις τὸ προσήκον μέρος κομίσηται, ἀπολυθῇ[σο]ν[τα]ι; auch hier handelt es sich um die Freigabe beschlagnahmter Einkünfte. Von ὑποθῆκαι ist λύσασθαι auch gesagt in der durch Cyriacus bekannten und zum Teile auf dem Steine GIBM, 50 erhaltenen Inschrift IG, II², 1104, Z. 2 ff.: ἐ[ὰν] δ[ὲ] οἱ παραδο[θέ]ντες εἰσφέρειν μὴ βούλωνται, [εἰ]τα ὑπεύθυνοι ἔστωσαν πρῶτον μὲν ἑκατοστιαίων τόκω[ν], ἀφ' οὗ, δέον ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἴσοδον (vgl. K. Κόντος, Ἀθηνᾶ XXI σ. 404 ff.; IG, V, 1, 1432, Z. 6: ὅπως ὅσον ἐστὶ δυνατόν εἰσοδιασθεῖ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα mit meinen Bemerkungen Jahreshefte, XVII, 33), οὐκ ἐποίησαντο, μέχρι μηνῶν ἄλλων δύο τῆς τελευταίας ἀποδόσεως, μετὰ δὲ τοὺς μῆνας τούτους εἰ μένοιεν μὴ πειθόμενοι, ἀποδόσθωσαν οἱ ἀργυροταμίαι μετὰ τοῦ κήρυκος τὰς ὑποθήκας, ἐ[χόν]των αὐτάς ἐξουσίαν λύσασθαι ἐξήκοντα ἡμερῶν πρῶτον μὲν τῶν δεδωκότων, εἴτα καὶ τῶν ἐγγυητῶν κτλ.

Welche Bedeutung der Z. 15 erwähnten Summe: χιλίας καὶ πεν[τακοσίας, nämlich δραχμάς, zukommt, vermag ich nicht zu sagen. An drei Stellen ist in zerstörtem Zusammenhange, Z. 30, 61, 73, von ἐνέχυρα die Rede. Von der Verpfändung gewisser Einnahmen spricht der Beschluss in Z. 77: —οἱ ὑποτίθενται τὰς προσόδους (ist -οἱ zu: Κολοφώνιοι zu ergänzen?); Z. 86 heisst es: ἀποδιδῶι αὐτοῖς ἡ πόλις ἐκάστου ἔτους ἐκ τῶν ὑποθημάτων κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα, Z. 87: — ωσιν νεμοῦνται τὰ ὑποθήματα οἱ δανείσαντες, μέχρι κομίσωνται πάντα τὰ [(ich möchte ergänzen:)] δάνεια καὶ τοὺς τόκους]. Es scheint mir in diesen Sätzen deutlich ausgesprochen, dass die Stadt zu einer jährlichen Rückzahlung ἐκ τῶν ὑποθημάτων, aus den verpfändeten Einnahmen, verpflichtet ist und die Gläubiger: ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδιδῶσιν (οἱ Κολοφώνιοι oder die betreffenden Beamten), selbst die Verwaltung und Ausbeutung der ὑποθήματα zu übernehmen berechtigt sind. In dem Satze, der an den früher besprochenen Satz Z. 85: τοῖς δανείσασιν τὸ δάνειον καὶ τοὺς τόκους ὑπολύεσθαι τὰ ὑποτεθέντα anschliessend mit den Worten: ἄρξει δὲ anhebt, wird der Beginn der Frist, auf die die Darlehen gewährt sind (vgl. Delphinion, S. 294 ff., Nr. 138, Z. 81: ἄρχει τοῦ δανείου μὲς Ἀρτεμισίων κτλ., oben S. 13) oder der Beginn der Rückzahlung bezeichnet und vermutlich auch die Pflicht der Stadt ausgesprochen gewesen sein, alljährlich ἐκ τῶν ὑποθημάτων

Rückzahlungen bis zur völligen Tilgung der Schuld vorzunehmen. Es wurde also ein förmlicher Schuldendienst eingerichtet, aufgebaut auf den Einnahmen aus den vorgesehenen Verkäufen von Hausplätzen—Z. 75 heisst es : τοῖς δὲ ἀ[π]ογραφαιμένοις (die sich schriftlich zur Leistung von Beiträgen gemeldet haben) ἀποδοῦναι ἕκ τε τῶν οἰκοπέδων — und auf Verpfändung gewisser Einkünfte. Von diesen handelt Z. 31 : τῆς πέμ]πτης τῶν ἰχθύων, nach Meritts richtiger Ergänzung, καὶ τῶν ἐμφο[ρβίων], Z. 83 : —ι τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ τοῖς ἐμφορβίοις, und Z. 82 : ἐ]μφορβίων πάντων τοῦ μέρους τοῦ γινομένου τῇδε τῇ πόλει τὸ τρίτον μέρος. Die auf die ἐμφόρβια, die Weidegelder (vgl. *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.*, XXXIV, 446), bezügliche Bestimmung wird erhellt durch die vorangehende Bestimmung, Z. 81 : κ]αρποῦ τοῦ γινομένου μέρους κατ' ἑκάστον ἔτος τῇδε τῇ πόλει τὸ τρίτον μέρος καὶ — ; der Stadt kommt von dem καρπός des Jahres ein bestimmtes μέρος zu, und von diesem wird der dritte Teil, wie auch von den ἐμφόρβια, für den Schuldendienst in Anspruch genommen. Mit der Verwaltung der καρποί ist der, wie auch L. Robert bemerkt, aus Thasos (*BCH*, 1921, pp. 147 f. ; vgl. *Sylloge*³, 1000, aus Kos, Z. 29) bekannte καρπολόγος betraut, dem nach Z. 35 ff. des ersten Beschlusses (s. oben S. 356) die Zeichner das Drittel des gezeichneten Betrages ὅταν τὰ ἔργα πραθῇ τῶν τειχῶν zu übergeben haben. Im Zusammenhang mit den Bestimmungen Z. 83 betreffend die πέμπτῃ und die ἐμφόρβια wird für Zahlungen an die ἵπποτρόφοι und andere Vorsorge getroffen : —ι τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ τοῖς ἐμφορβίοις καὶ οἱ ὀφειλόμενοι μισθοὶ τοῖς τε ἵπποτρόφοις ; diese sind auch in einer nicht kenntlichen Bestimmung Z. 32 : τοῦδ]ε τοῦ ψηφίσματος καὶ τοῖς ἵπποτρόφ[οις erwähnt ; L. Robert hat p. 164 mit Recht die Zeugnisse der Schriftsteller herangezogen, aus denen die grosse Bedeutung und der Ruhm der Reiterei der Kolophonier erhellt.

Irre ich nicht, so werden die πέμπται, die in der berühmten, von R. Herzog nunmehr *Hermes*, 1930, S. 466, Anm. 2, in das Ende der vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. gesetzten Urkunde *Sylloge*³, 953, aus Kalymna, Z. 60, erwähnt werden, ebenfalls Abgaben ἰχθύων sein. Dass es sich bei der Aufzählung : καὶ τῶν φιαλῶν καὶ τῶν ἀλσέων καὶ τῶν πεμπτῶν um Schalen, Haine und "Fünftel" handelt, die die Kalymnier verpfändet hatten, haben C. T. Newton und W. Dittenberger gesehen ; die πέμπται, schlechtweg so

bezeichnet, müssen eine bekannte und doch wohl auch eine bedeutende Abgabe gewesen sein ; so liegt es, da nun aus Kolophon eine πέμπτη ἰχθύων bezeugt ist, nahe, in Ansehung der wirtschaftlichen Wichtigkeit des Fischfanges auch die πέμπται in Kalymna auf Abgaben ἰχθύων zu beziehen.

Der für eine Abgabe hohe Satz, den die πέμπτη ἰχθύων bedeutet, scheint mir aber auch geeignet über die τετάρτη aufzuklären, die der bekannte Beschluss der Stadt Kyzikos, *Sylloge*³, 4 (*DGEE*, 732 ; dazu W. Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne*, L 37) zu Gunsten der Söhne des Μηδίκης und Αἰσηπος unter den Abgaben aufzählt, von denen diese nicht befreit werden : Πόλις Μηδίκεω καὶ τοῖσιν Αἰσήπου παισὶν καὶ τοῖσιν ἐκγόνοισιν ἀτε(λ)εῖν καὶ πρυτανεῖον δέδοται παρὲξ ναύηιο καὶ τοῦ ταλάντου καὶ ἱππωνίης καὶ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ ἀνδραποδωνίης· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων πάντων ἀτελῆς, κτλ. Über die τετάρτη bemerkte A. M. Andreadis, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς δημοσίας οἰκονομίας*, I (1928), σ. 188 : Περὶ τετάρτης οὔτε ὁ Dittenberger οὔτε ἄλλος τις λέγει τι. Ἡ δυσχέρεια τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἀπορρέει ἐκ τοῦ ποσοστοῦ τοῦ φόρου (25 per cent.) : Ἀληθῶς ὑπέρογκα ποσοστὰ ἀπαντῶσιν εἰς τοὺς ἐγγεῖους φόρους κατακτητικῶν τινῶν κρατῶν, λ. χ. τῆς Καρχηδόνας, ἢ εἰς τὰ τελωνεῖα ἡμιβαρβάρων βασιλειῶν, λ. χ. τῶν Θρακῶν· ἀλλὰ δὲν ἀνευρίσκονται εἰς ἐλληνίδας πολιτείας. Εἶχον ὑποθέσῃ πρὸς στιγμήν ὅτι ἐπρόκειτο περὶ μορτῆς δημοσίων κτημάτων, ἀναλόγου πρὸς τὸ ἄλλοτε ἐν τῇ νεωτέρᾳ Ἑλλάδι κρατῆσαν τριτοδέκατον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς κλασσικοὺς χρόνους τὸ τελούμενον ὑπὸ καρπωτῶν ἐθνικῶν κτημάτων δὲν ὑπερέβαινε τὸ 10 per cent., δι' ὃ καὶ αἱ μνημονευόμεναι δεκάται ἀντιπροσωπεύουσιν, ὡς ἀπόδειξεν ὁ Boeckh, τοιαῦτα μισθώματα. Ὅθεν ἡ εἰκασία εἶναι ἀβέβαιος. Ἐτέρα ὑπόθεσις, ἴσως κατὰ τι πιθανωτέρα, εἶναι ὅτι πρόκειται περὶ εἰσφορᾶς οὐχὶ πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ κατακτηθέντων μικρασιατῶν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο εἶνε ὑπόθεσις ἀπλῇ." Sowenig diese Erklärungsversuche befriedigen können, sowenig vermag ich mich dem Eindrücke zu entziehen, dass es sich in dem Beschlusse *Sylloge*³, 4 um eine Abgabe handelt, die in der städtischen Wirtschaft von ähnlicher Bedeutung war wie die von ἱππωνίῃ und ἀνδραποδωνίῃ (über diese s. E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*, p. 117) und so gewöhnlich und bekannt, dass ein Zusatz überflüssig schien ; ich vermute, eine τετάρτη ἰχθύων. Eine solche Ertragsteuer ist aus Aegypten als τετάρτη ἀλιέων, ἰχθυϊκῶν ἀλιέων,

ἰχθυϊκῶν und ἰχθυηρά, nämlich ὠνή, bekannt; s. U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, I, S. 137 ff., 141, 720-724, 306; W. Schwahn, *RE*, VA, Sp. 242, 291.

Dass die βασιλικά in der Bestimmung, Z. 34: οἱ τόκοι μὴτ' εἰς βασιλικά μὴτ' εἰς nicht, wie Meritt, p. 164, vermutete: "revenues once collected by the Persian king" sein können, hatte auch ich gesehen; L. Robert erklärt: "c'est là, comme ailleurs, les fonds royaux." Gewisse Summen sollen nicht etwa zu Zahlungen an die königliche Kasse (s. W. Dittenbergers Bemerkungen zu OGI, 90, Z. 13 über βασιλικά ὀφειλήματα) verwendet, sondern der Befriedigung der Ansprüche der Gläubiger vorbehalten bleiben. Da die Kolophonier mit Abgaben an einen König, also mit der Abhängigkeit von einem solchen, rechnen, wird dieser zweite Beschluss in die Zeit nach der Annahme des Königstitels durch Antigonos und Demetrios, 306 v. Chr., fallen; er wird andererseits älter sein als das Jahr 302, in dem Lysimachos nach Asien übersetzte und sein Feldherr Prepelaos (s. M. Rostovtzeff, *Rev. Ét. Anc.*, 1931, pp. 22 ff.), wie Diodoros, XX, 107, berichtet, Ephesos nach einer Belagerung einnahm und auch Teos und Kolophon gewann: ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ Ἰωνίας πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Λυσιμάχου στρατηγὸς Πρεπέλαος κτλ., τὴν δ' Ἐφεσον πολιορκήσας καὶ καταπληξάμενος τοὺς ἔνδον παρέλαβε τὴν πόλιν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τηίους μὲν καὶ Κολοφωνίους προσηγάγετο, κτλ.

In Z. 35 ist mir die Lesung: α]ύτοῖς ἢ ῥήτωρ εἶπηι ἢ πωλητῆς ἐπι[- höchst verdächtig; wie kann einem ῥήτωρ — vgl. IG, I², 45 (*Sylloge*³, 67), Z. 20: ἐ]ὰν δέ τις ἐπιφσεφίζει παρὰ τὲ[ν στέλεν ἐρ]ήε]τορ ἀγορεύει κτλ. — ein πωλητῆς gegenübergestellt sein? Zunächst dürfte statt α]ύτοῖς zu ergänzen sein: το]ύτοῖς und vorher: ἐναντίον, vgl. z. B. *Sylloge*³, 578, Z. 40 ff.: ἦν δὲ κτλ. ἢ ἄλλος τις ἄρχων ἢ ιδιώτης εἶπηι κτλ. ἢ νόμον προθῆι ἐναντίον τούτῳ κτλ.; offenbar handelt es sich um das Verbot der Einbringung und Behandlung von Anträgen in der Volksversammlung, die Anordnungen des vorliegenden Beschlusses abändern oder abschaffen wollen; solches Unterfangen wird auch sonst in Beschlüssen öffentlicher und privater Körperschaften verpönt, s. L. Robert, *BCH*, 1933, pp. 510 f., und *JHS*, 1934, pp. 141 ff., Z. 58 ff., dazu M. N. Tods Bemerkung, p. 154. Nach dem ῥήτωρ kann daher nur der Leiter der betreffenden Abstimmung genannt sein wie in

dem Gesetze der Samier *Sylloge*³, 976, Z. 88 ff.: *ἐὰν δέ τις ἢ πρύτανις προθῇ ἢ ῥήτωρ εἴπῃ ἢ ἐπιστάτης ἐπιψηφίσει ὥς δεῖ προχρησασθαι εἰς ἄλλο τι ἢ μετενεγκεῖν, ἀποτινέτω ἕκαστος δραχμὰς μυρίας*; in dem Beschlusse der Kolophonier folgte eine entsprechende Bestimmung, aus der in Z. 36 die Worte: *αὐτῶν τῇ θεῷ δραχμὰ[s]* erhalten sind; kann der von dem Buchstaben vor *αὐτῶν* verzeichnete Rest einem Ny angehören, so ergänzt man leicht: *ἢ ὀφείλειν ἕκαστον] αὐτῶν κτλ.* Gemeint war also: *ἢ ἐπιστάτης ἐπι[ψηφίσει*; hat sich der Steinmetz verschrieben, weil er zur Unzeit an einen *πωλητής* dachte (Z. 67: *σ]υμπωλεῖν μετὰ τῶν πω[λητῶν*—allenfalls: *τὴν βουλὴν σ]υμπωλεῖν κτλ.*?, vgl. IG, I², 110, Z. 34), oder hat die Abschrift ein auf dem Steine wenig deutliches Wort so sonderbar verlesen? Die Schreibung *ἢ 'πιστάτης* statt *ἢ ἐπιστάτης* konnte ein Versehen erleichtern. In Z. 73 ist mir: *ἐπι]μηνίους μετὰ τόδε τὸ ψήφισ[μα* ebenfalls verdächtig; ist *μετὰ* verschrieben oder verlesen statt: *κατά*? Vermöge eines Versehens ist IG, II², 1013, Z. 60: *μετὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν κακούργων κειμένους νόμους* gedruckt statt: *κατὰ τοὺς κτλ.*, vgl. IG, II, 476 und *Hesperia*, VII, p. 129.

Ein tragisches Geschick hat den Kolophoniern versagt, die Hoffnungen auf eine glückliche Zukunft erfüllt zu sehen, mit denen sie ein grosses Unternehmen, den Neubau der *παλαιὰ πόλις* und ihre Einbeziehung in den Mauerring der Stadt, begonnen hatten; nach wenigen Jahren drohte dem einst so glänzenden und noch immer blühenden und reichen Gemeinwesen völliger Untergang. Als Lysimachos ein neues Ephesos schuf (s. J. Keil, *Jahreshefte*, XVI, 243), hat er wie die Lebedier so auch die Kolophonier zu der Übersiedlung in seine Gründung gezwungen, den Widerstand der Kolophonier, die sich allein weigerten, mit Waffengewalt gebrochen und ihre Stadt als solche vernichtet; so berichtet Pausanias, I, 9, 7: *συνώκισε δὲ καὶ Ἐφεσίων ἄχρι θαλάσσης τὴν νῦν πόλιν, ἐπαγαγόμενος ἐς αὐτὴν Λεβεδίους τε* (über die *χιλιαστὺς* der Ephesier, die ihren Namen trägt, s. J. Keil, *a.a.O.*, S. 245) *οἰκήτορας καὶ Κολοφωνίους, τὰς δὲ ἐκείνων ἀνελὼν πόλεις, ὥς Φοίνικα ἰάμβων ποιητὴν Κολοφωνίων θρηνῆσαι τὴν ἄλωσιν, Ἑρμησιάναξ δὲ κτλ.* (vgl. U. v. Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung*, I, 106), VII, 3, 4: *Κολοφωνίοις δὲ ὅπως μὲν τὴν πόλιν συνέπεσεν ἐρημωθῆναι προεδήλωσέ μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἐς Λυσίμαχον.*

εμαχεσαντο δὲ Λυσιμάχῳ καὶ Μακεδόσι Κολοφώνιοι τῶν ἀνοικισθέντων ἐς Ἑφέσον μόνοι· τοῖς δὲ ἀποθανούσι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Κολοφωνίων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Σμυρναίων ἐστὶν ὁ τάφος ἰόντι ἐς Κλάρον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ. Haben die Kolophonier Lysimachos' besonderen Zorn erfahren müssen, weil sie Antigonos und seinem Sohne, dankbar für die ihnen bewiesene Gunst, die Treue zu halten versuchten? Für die weiteren Schicksale der ἀρχαία πόλις Kolophon und der mit ihr durch Sympolitie verbundenen Stadt ἐπὶ θαλάσση s. J. Keil, Notion, *RE*, XVII, 1075 ff.

III

1. Nach C. W. Blegens Abschrift ist *AJP*, 1935, p. 383, n. IX, ein jetzt verlorenes, στοιχειδόν geschriebenes Bruchstück eines Beschlusses mitgeteilt, das folgendermassen gelesen und ergänzt wird:

Στ. 47 B.

.....¹⁸..... ἀναγ[ράψα[ι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμά εἰς στ-]
 [ἤλην λιθίνην καὶ στῆσαι ἐ]ν τῶι ἱε[ρῶι τῆς Μητρὸς⁸.....]
 5 [.....¹⁹..... δ]οῦναι ἔς τ[ε τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν]
 [ἀνάθεσιν τὸν ταμία]ν τῶν τῆς θεοῦ τὸ [γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα]

B. D. Meritt bemerkt mit Recht: "The preserved letters belong to characteristic formulae, though the exact wording is here uncertain."

Die Ergänzung ἐν τῶι ἱε[ρῶι τῆς Μητρὸς] wird dadurch nahegelegt, dass der Stein in dem Heiligtum der Μήτηρ gefunden ist. Die Ergänzung der Lücke vor δοῦναι bereitet aber auch dann Schwierigkeit, wenn mit einer Aufstellung einer zweiten Stele in einem anderen Heiligtume gerechnet wird, weil die vorgeschlagene Herstellung vor δοῦναι die Nennung eines oder auch mehrerer Beamten verlangt; der Beschluss p. 377 f., n. III (dazu L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.*, 1936, p. 165) verfügt in Z. 30 ff. die Aufstellung zweier Stelen εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ εἰς τὸ Μητρῶιον, der Beschluss p. 379 f., n. IV die einer Stele εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τῆς [Μητρὸς], das unter dieser Bezeichnung auch in dem Beschlusse p. 381, n. VII, und mit dem Zusatze ἐνθάδε in dem ersten Beschlusse, Z. 35, erwähnt ist, der Beschluss *BCH*, 1915, p. 36, Z. 16 ff. die einer Stele εἰς

τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλ[ω]νος τοῦ Κλαρίου. Vielleicht darf unter Voraussetzung von nicht 47 sondern nur 35 Buchstaben in der Zeile eine andere Herstellung versucht werden, die selbstverständlich Sicherheit nicht beanspruchen kann :

[. ἀναγ]ράψα[ι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐς] Στ. 35 B.
[στήλην λιθίνην ἐ]ν τῷ ἱε[ρῷ τῆς Μητρός· τοῦ-]
[ς δ' ἐπιμηνίους δ]οῦναι ἐς τ[ὴν ἀναγραφὴν ἐκ τ-]
[ῶν προσόδω]ν τῶν τῆς θεοῦ τὸ [γενόμενον ἀνάλ-]
[ωμα.]

Während die anderen Beschlüsse die Anordnung über die Aufzeichnung ohne Nennung des oder der beauftragten Beamten einführen : ἀναγράψαι δέ, müsste in diesem Beschlusse, da die στοιχηδόν - Ordnung für δέ nach ἀναγράψαι keinen Raum lässt, eine solche Nennung, z. B. τὸν δὲ γραμματέα, vorhergegangen sein. Zu τοὺς δ' ἐπιμηνίους vgl. die nachstehend versuchte Ergänzung des Beschlusses p. 381, n. VII, und *Sylloge*³, 426, aus Bargylia, Z. 27 : τὸν δὲ ἐπιμ[ήνιον τῶν τ]αμιῶν ἐπιδοῦναι, ὅπως ἀναγραφῇ τὸ ὄνομα αὐ[τοῦ π]ατρόθεν ἐν τῇ στήλῃ κτλ; nebenbei, ist in ἐπιδοῦναι die Präposition vielleicht irrig wiederholt aus ἐπιμήνιον, statt ἐκ- oder ἐγδοῦναι? Vgl. *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1900, S. 91.

2. Für den Beschluss p. 381, n. VII, hat L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.*, 1936, p. 166, einige Verbesserungen veröffentlicht, die sich auch mir aufgedrängt hatten. Seine Vermutung, der durch das Bürgerrecht ἐφ' ἔ[σ]σι καὶ ὁμοίαι geehrte Τημνίτης habe sich durch eine μήνυσις ein Verdienst um die Kolophonier erworben und es sei in Z. 4 etwa : ἐμή[νυσεν τὸ ἀδίκημα τὸ oder : τὰ ἀδικήματα τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱερ]ὸν τῆς Μητρός, oder die Erwähnung des der Göttin gehörigen gestohlenen Geldes zu ergänzen, ändere ich dahin ab, dass ich : ἐμή[νυσεν τοὺς ἀσεβήσαντας τὸ ἱερὸν oder εἰς τὸ ἱερ]ὸν τῆς Μητρός vorschlage, vgl. *Sylloge*³, 201, Z. 3 : π[ο]τὶ τὼς ἀσεβίοντας τὸ ἱερὸν τῶν Ἀπόλλωνος τῶ Π[ο]υθίῳ, 372, Z. 4 : τ[ο]ὺς ἀσεβήσαντας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ [ἐ]γχειρήσαντας συλῆσαι τὰ ἀναθήματα κτλ.; über Asebie s. die ausgezeichneten Bemerkungen A. Menzels in dem Neudrucke seiner viel zu wenig gewürdigten Untersuchungen zum Sokratesprozesse, *Hellenika*, gesammelte kleine Schriften, S. 21 ff.

Ich würde von Z. 4 an lesen :

- [Ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως τοῦ δεῖνα (Monatsname) -ῶνο]s ἐνάτῃ ἰστα-
 [μένου· πολιτεία τῶι δεῖνι Δημ]ητρίου Τημνίτη·
 [ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνα ἐπεψήφισε· π]ροέδρωγ γνώμη·
 [ἐπειδὴ Name wie in Z. 2 Δημητρίο]υ Τημνίτης ἐμή-
 5 [νυσε τοὺς ἀσεβήσαντας εἰς? τὸ ἱερ]ὸν τῆς Μητρὸς 38 oder 35 B.
 [τῆς Ἀνταίης?, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ]ι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ εἰ- 40
 [ναι αὐτόν τε Name wie in Z. 2 und 4 πολίτην] Κολοφωνίων ἐφ' ἑ-
 [σσι καὶ ὁμοίαι καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους, δ]εδόσθαι δὲ αὐ- 39
 [τῶι καὶ γῆς ἔγκτησιν καὶ οἰκία]s καὶ τῶν ἄλλωμ 37
 10 [πάντων μετουσίαν ὅσων καὶ] τοῖς ἄλλοις πο- 34
 [λίταις μέτεστιν, καὶ πρόσοδον πρὸς] τῇ βουλῇγ 38
 [καὶ τὸν δῆμον πρῶτῳ μετὰ τὰ ἱε]ρά· ταῦτα δὲ εἰ- 36
 [ναι καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ τοῖς ἐκγό]νοισ· τοὺς δὲ 32
 [ἐπιμηνίους τοὺς ἐπιμηνιεύοντα]s τὸμ μῆνα 35
 15 κτλ.

In Z. 3 ist ἐπεψήφισε ergänzt nach Z. 3 des Beschlusses p. 377, n. III; wenn in dem von Meritt nicht herangezogenen Beschlusse BCH, 1915, p. 36, in Z. 3 ergänzt worden ist: Μοῖρις ἐπε[[στάτει], γνώμη τῶν ἐπιμηνίων, so darf bemerkt werden, dass ἐπεψηφισε ebensoviele Buchstaben beansprucht und am Anfange der vorangehenden Zeile neun, an dem der folgenden sieben verloren sind, also auch für ἐπεψήφισεν Raum zu sein scheint. In Z. 6 wird nach τῆς Μητρὸς ihr Beiname, bekannt durch Z. 18 des ersten Beschlusses, erwartet; L. Robert hat denn auch τῆς Ἀνταίης ergänzt. Der Beiname gibt der Zeile mehr Buchstaben als den übrigen nach wahrscheinlichen Ergänzungen zukommen, und, unergänzt, hat sie auch in dem Abdrucke Meritts grössere Länge als die vorangehenden und die folgenden, doch weiss ich nicht, ob dieser Abdruck genaue Wiedergabe der Zeilenschlüsse, die sich in ihm sehr ungleich darstellen (stets mit vollen Worten oder Silben), beabsichtigt. Ἐνθάδε, wie in Z. 35 des ersten Beschlusses, ist der Stellung wegen nicht glaublich, τῶν θεῶν würde um drei Buchstaben kürzer sein als τῆς Ἀνταίης. Wird in Z. 7 der Vatersname Δημητρίου des Geehrten eingesetzt und mit der Länge seines eigenen Namens gerechnet, die in Z. 4 erforderlich ist, um dieser Zeile eine Buchstabenzahl zu geben, die hinter der der anderen Zeilen nicht zurückbleibt, so ergeben sich mehr Buchstaben als erwünscht sind; etwas weniger

Buchstaben als *Δημητρίου* hat, vor oder nach dem unbekannten Namen einzusetzen und auf das folgende *καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους* hinweisend : *αὐτόν τε*.

3. Der Beschluss über den Mauerbau, p. 361 ff., n. I, ordnet die Aufzeichnung der *ὑποδεξάμενοι* und ihrer Beiträge, Z. 33 ff., auf einer Stele an, die *εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Μητρὸς ἐνθάδε* aufgestellt werden soll. *Ἐνθάδε* wird andeuten, dass es ausser dem Heiligtum *ἐνθάδε* ein zweites Heiligtum der Meter an anderem Orte gab ; ich meine, in der durch Sympolitie mit der alten Stadt Kolophon verbundenen Stadt am Meere, früher *Νότιον* genannt ; vgl. meine *BGI*, S. 173, und J. Keil, *RE*, XVII, Sp. 1075 ff. Mehrere, nun von L. Robert, *a.a.O.*, p. 165 f., besprochene Beschlüsse der Kolophonier bezeugen die Abstimmungen, denen sie in beiden Städten unterzogen wurden. Nach den wertvollen Ausführungen, die der ausgezeichnete französische Gelehrte in seinem Buche *Villes d'Asie mineure*, pp. 54 ff., den Sympolitien hellenischer Städte gewidmet hat, wird es nicht unangebracht sein, noch auf die Sympolitie von Erymna und Kotenna zu verweisen, die durch die jetzt von J. Keil, *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien und Isaurien*, S. 48 f., Nr. 105, veröffentlichte Inschrift aus Ormana bekannt ist. Unter der Überschrift : *Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος [Ἐ]ρυμνέων καὶ Κοτεν[ν]έων ἐτίμησαν Μενέ[αν] Σόλωνος κατὰ τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα ψηφίσματα* stehen zwei Beschlüsse, der erste eingeleitet : *Ἔδοξεν Ἐρυμνέων βου[λῇ καὶ] δῆμῳ*, der zweite : *Ἔδοξεν Κοτεννέων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ*, die in ähnlicher, aber nicht übereinstimmender Fassung die Ehrung des Priesters Meneas durch ein Standbild anordnen. Die Überschrift über den beiden Beschlüssen zeigt, dass sie, von Rat und Demos jeder Stadt einvernehmlich beschlossen, als Beschluss *eines Rates* und *eines Demos* beider Städte galten.

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